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of the
VERMONT
Historical Society

Highgate as Seen from an Old Account Book
The Historical Records Survey and Its Progress in Vermont
Vermont in the Making, 1750-1777. *A Review*
The First Conference of Lake Champlain Historians
Vermont Letters. *A Series.* III
Postscript

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1939

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Proceedings

of the

VERMONT

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SEPTEMBER

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The present flood control issue as it affects Vermont in the state's relationship to the Federal Government may have puzzling aspects to the historian of the future unless we think of him now. Moreover, most of us are confused at present as to just what the issue is and the arguments are. So we have asked the Honorable Walter S. Fenton to discuss the topic in our December number. His treatment of the subject will be authoritative and permanent in value.

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1939

NEW SERIES SEPTEMBER VOL. VII No. 3

HIGHGATE AS SEEN FROM AN OLD ACCOUNT BOOK

A STUDY OF ENTRIES MADE BY WILLIAM STEARNS, A FARMER AND CHAIR-MAKER, WHOSE MEANS WERE LIMITED. THE PERIOD COVERED IS FROM 1824 TO 1833

By GEORGE POMEROY ANDERSON

An old account book, as seen through the eyes of the unanointed, seems to be a most useless fragment of a forgotten past. Seen through anointed eyes, its dingy pages reveal a community living again over a century or more—in the sense, at least, that what a man pays for food, what he eats, what he earns, what he buys, what he spends, are very real factors in living. Various types of old account books tell different stories, of course—stories of the quality and character of a community, its interests, economic certainly, often social and even esthetic, its points of view, its decay or growth. We believe that in Mr. Anderson's pioneering study—pioneering so far as the Proceedings *is concerned—a satisfactory technique is in evidence that could be used in the study of other account books. Dispute will rage endlessly about documents left to us by leaders in controversial issues, but quietly, often wearily no doubt, common men and women kept their accounts whose validity for historical purposes we cannot question—accounts that hold in fading script today the essence of vanished lives and days. Additional comment will be found in the Postscript. Editor.*

I. Introducing William Stearns

IN the belief that useful and interesting sidelights on living conditions and business practice in pioneer days in the town of Highgate, Vermont, might be obtained, I have made a somewhat critical examination of entries in an account book of my great-grandfather, William Stearns, who was a farmer, and in a small way, a chairmaker or manufacturer in that town. The period covered is from 1824 to 1833, with, here and there, a few entries before the first-named date. Stearns was in humble circumstances and may be described almost as a poor man, certainly one of limited resources. He was honest and industrious, however, and made a good fight to get ahead and improve his position in life.

His struggle was typical, I think, of that of a great many other settlers in Highgate. They worked early and late, had almost no relaxation, had few of the things we call comforts, and almost no luxuries. His struggles and those of his neighbors are suggested by the entries. If we think our present era is hard, when we are trying to lay the ghost of a depression, then have a look at the everyday life of William Stearns and his neighbors, as demonstrated by the daily doings of the Highgate men of 1824-1833. In the first place, the town was almost isolated. It lies next to Lake Champlain and borders the Canadian line. No railroads of course, no roads except those that were very primitive, and little fun, except some dances and the annual muster. The trade contacts were chiefly to the north. Little from New York City or Boston reached Highgate. Some goods did trickle in from Albany, N. Y.

The town, doubtless, had from the south a very occasional peddler. Commodities were few in supply and probably came from St. Johns, Canada, having come to that place from Montreal, which in turn had received them from Quebec, which had got them from England, France or Holland. Possibly a little might have reached Quebec from Boston, but the arrivals must have been very infrequent. They were almost shut off from the world. If they got enough salt from St. Johns to enable them to "put down" their pork and beef, that was a sort of triumph. No bank was near enough to be of any use commercially. A newspaper was a great rarity. Nothing but candlelight and not much of that for they had little to read. Believe it or not, that is about the way Highgate, and many another distant Vermont town, was in the decade which is under examination.

Two decades later, when the railroads had penetrated this distant section of the state, the picture was greatly changed, and by 1855 there was a still greater transformation and the word "comfort" first began to be associated with most homes. Each decade since has made its contribution toward raising the standard of living, and Highgate has had its just share of this advance, yet, somehow, I do not believe the average rural Vermonter realizes how much better off he is than the people of a century ago. This account book in a faltering way suggests the story. If Stearns had put more human interest items into its pages, we should have a better idea of those early conditions, but he was weary, and I suspect his prosaic and hard life of grinding toil sent him each night to bed utterly tired out. At any rate he died in the early forties.

The account book itself, from which this study is made, is about fifteen inches long and slightly more than six inches wide. The pages are nicely ruled and arranged to permit entries of trade transactions. The paper has no water-mark, but is of excellent quality and almost certainly is of British manufacture. The covers are of pasteboard, but the binding is calfskin. The book has seen hard usage, but its entries, all, of course, made by quill pens, are in good condition except in a very few cases. The recovery of the information contained in its pages has been like snatching a brand from the burning.

Before the account book came into my possession, it had been used as a scrapbook, and only here and there a name was visible. As the pasting of newspaper items proceeded, the book naturally swelled, and so, in order to make it manageable, about a third of the pages were cut out. In this condition the book was such a hopeless proposition that after trying ineffectually to steam off the clippings, I laid it aside and for thirty years it was wholly neglected. A year ago I said to myself: "I will find out what there is in that damned book." So I took a sponge and a basin of water, and for three days I soaked out the newspaper clippings of foolish jokes and dull poetry that appeared in its pages, and at the end of those three days I had my reward. I had before me a record of the daily doings of my great-grandfather, as disclosed by the entries.

Badly mutilated the book was by the cutting out of those pages; many credit items were gone, the mutilation always being on the right-hand page, but still there remained entries showing the names of about 165 people who lived in Highgate, Swanton, and Sheldon. By studying them I got some ideas, and some light, which I propose, in

my poor words, to pass on to the reader. Perhaps someone who has an older and larger account book, with a better setting, may be moved to make a record that is more complete and satisfying. There must be such books in existence. They are, in my opinion, the best sort of documents to show what was going on 100 or 150 years ago in primitive rural Vermont.

One unexpected compensation has attended the process of restoring the record—the ink remains excellent. It was black and it must have been of the best English quality. After all my "sozzling" with a sponge, there are only three or four illegible words, and none of them seems important. The spelling in spots is among the world's worst, although I have seen a number of other account books as bad. Any account book, that has been kept by a settler lacking a higher education, covering the years between, say, 1700 and 1850, is apt to disclose the most weird spelling. Most of it will be phonetic, and it is a help when one realizes that the writer is trying to spell a word according to the sound of its pronunciation in common speech. There are plenty of exceptions, of course, to this condition. I have before me a Connecticut account book of 1765-1770, kept by a fine family —the Whitneys and Sherwoods—and some of its entries are terrible —"Ceeping school," for instance. You wonder what kind of a school that was. Probably it was a very good one considering the times, but with more common sense than grammar.

Let us return to my lowly but energetic great-grandfather, William Stearns. At the time the book opens he was married to his cousin, Sarah (Sally) Stearns, and was about thirty-four years old. He had six children, all of whom were small. His father, Solomon Stearns (1763-1842), had come to Highgate before 1800, having previously lived for more than a decade in the town of Chester, in Windsor County, Vermont. He and others from Worcester, Mass., and vicinity, had gone to Chester, following the lead of Thomas Chandler of Worcester who had gone first to Walpole, N. H., and, after a short stay there, had moved to what is now called Chester, but which originally had been called Flamstead and New Flamstead under Benning Wentworth's grants in what is now Vermont. Chandler became a Loyalist, although his son was a supporter of Vermont. It may be that Solomon Stearns was a Loyalist and that he went to Highgate to get into an atmosphere where he could start even again under a new regime. I have never found satisfactory evidence as to his motive in leaving Chester. Perhaps he went merely because he

thought that Highgate was a town in its infancy—as it was in 1800—and he believed he could get ahead there. Another brother, Shadrack Stearns, went to Poultney, and still another, Benjamin Stearns, father of Sally, wife of William, went to Swanton at the time they left Chester. The pioneer rule was to move on, after getting ahead as far as one could in a given location. Solomon, living up to his name, moved on.

Solomon and his wife, Jemima Clark of Grafton, Mass., had twelve children, some born in Chester, and some in Highgate.[1] Our William was born in Chester, about 1790, so some of his other descendants inform me, but the Stearns genealogy does not even mention him, and makes some mistakes in recording the other children so that one is bewildered in searching for the truth. We know, however, that Solomon's father was Samuel Stearns (1720-1776) and that he was in the group that went to Chester from Worcester. Samuel's father was Captain John Stearns (1692-1762) of Lexington, Mass., and the captain's father was another John Stearns (1657-1722), while the first one of all who is known, Charles Stearns, was located as early as 1646 in Watertown, Mass., a town just outside of Boston. All of which means that our William Stearns was of the sixth generation from the Watertown pioneer.

I have spoken of the spelling in the account book as being bad. It was bad, but it should be remembered that dictionaries were not generally current in those days and such spelling as Stearns learned in Chester, Vermont, was not very illuminating. On the whole, after reflecting, and comparing the account book with others that I have seen, it is quite passable. He writes "yallow" for yellow; says "peace" when he means piece; writes "cullering" for coloring; "paster" for pasture, and "oar" for ore. All that he wrote was phonetic. His worst spelling was "uice" for use. I still shudder over that. On the other hand, such words as acre, knapsack, turnip (usually "turnup" in Connecticut account books), molasses, pantaloons, contra ("contry" in Connecticut), bushels, augers, and onions are correctly written. When not quite certain what the correct spelling might be, he sometimes cheerfully uses several types—thus I found "churn,"

1. *Genealogy and Memoirs of Charles and Nathaniel Stearns, and Their Descendants*, by Avis Stearns Van Wagenen (1901). This account gives the descendants of two distinct separate unrelated Stearns families. The Franklin County line comes from Charles of Watertown, Mass.

"chern" and "chirn." Yet he knew what he was writing about every time.

II. Early Racketeers Appear

BENNING WENTWORTH'S land-granting machine was going at top speed when the Highgate charter was issued on August 17, 1763. On that day Georgia and St. Albans also were granted charters. He apparently had come to the conclusion that the King might decide the dispute between New Hampshire and New York against his interest. Therefore, he had his scriveners get busy and at once various towns in what now are Franklin and Chittenden Counties were chartered. In 1763 a total of three grants was issued. The grantees who paid the fees were speculators, most of them living in Northampton, Mass., or in that vicinity. Not one of them ever came to Highgate and none of them ever intended to do so. The Royal decree in favor of New York's claim to what is Vermont, coming in 1764, made the Wentworth grants worthless—at least, so New York claimed.[2] So the grantees were glad to sell out for a song to Ira Allen and some other members of that family, and after extensive "finagling" by the Allens, nearly all of Highgate fell into Ira Allen's lap, his brother Levi getting a good slice of St. Albans and much of Swanton.

The Wentworth grant of Highgate covered 23,040 acres. A New York grant issued in 1771 for 2,000 acres to S. Metcalf & Company, another speculating bunch, covered part of Highgate, but it caused no local disturbance in Highgate and merely enabled the estate of Simon Metcalf in 1789 to enlarge its demand for compensation when Vermont for $30,000 bought off the New York claim. Of the original grantees, Hilkiah Grout was of some importance, and others of note are Colonel William Symes, who was authorized to be moderator of the first meeting of the town, Samuel Hunt and a group of other members of that family, and Ebenezer Pomeroy and others of that name. Some of the Pomeroys settled much later in Franklin, Vermont, among them Dr. Enoch Pomeroy, my great-grandfather,

2. The best and most recent statement of the merits of the controversy between Vermont and New York over the contested tract of land now embraced in the state of Vermont, is found in *Vermont in the Making* (1939) by Matt Bushnell Jones. Every Vermonter should read it. [*Note review in this issue. Editor.*]

and some of the Hunts settled elsewhere in Franklin County, but they had to buy their own land back from Ira Allen.

William Teachout was one of the very early Highgate settlers. Not only is his name in the account book, but also other Teachouts—Minard, Lewis, Patterson, and Jacob. In the north part of the town modern maps show Teachout Hill. William Teachout was in Highgate as early as 1788 when he and John Waggoner had trouble with Louis, an Algonquin chief, who came into the settlement and boldly appropriated fifteen bushels of potatoes from Teachout, and several bushels of corn from Waggoner. The theft made starvation seem imminent.

In language, quite like that of a Chicago or New York racketeer of our own day, Chief Louis informed Teachout and Waggoner that although the Indians owned the land, if the settlers would give them one-fourth of the produce they raised, they might remain. It was useless to resist. The two settlers later formally under oath took their complaint to Ira Allen who was then hand and glove with Sir Guy Carleton, both of them, by the way, being Free Masons. The settlers had bought their land of Allen, and naturally they expected protection from redmen racketeers. They got it. Chief Louis quit and left them alone. This incident in 1788 does not look as if these two men had any doubt about what country they were operating in, and in itself should discredit the oft-repeated story that the firstcomers to Highgate thought they were in Canada.

In his very scholarly and illuminating study of political conditions following the Revolutionary War, entitled *The Missisquoi Loyalists*,[3] not long ago published by this Society, Thomas C. Lampee of Boston mentions William Teachout and John Hilliker of Highgate, also John Waggoner of Swanton, and says that all three were Loyalists and former Loyal Rangers who served on the British side at the time of the Burgoyne invasion. I believe this to be true, but while they lived in Highgate and Swanton, they seem to have been under no cloud because of previous adherence to the Crown, and Minard Teachout of Highgate was one of the early town officers.[4] In those

3. *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, Volume VI, Number 2, issued in June, 1938.

4. The Teachouts probably are of Dutch origin, and may be connected with Jacob Tissoort who in 1763 was a grantee of Duxbury, Vermont, under Benning Wentworth. "Tissoort," when spoken quickly, sounds like Teachout. There are numerous Teachouts in Essex and Essex Junction where the family

days bygones had to be bygones, the immediate problem being how to get tomorrow's breakfast.

Thomas Best whose name appears frequently in the account book came from Hoosic, Albany County, N. Y., and probably was a brother of Conrad and Hermanus Best, who also came from Hoosic. They were Loyalists who located in Missisquoi County in Canada but were little better than squatters on certain Indian lands. Conrad and Hermanus remained in Canada, but Thomas early saw the light and chose to settle in Highgate. This is one of many instances of a family divided by the issues of the war.

Thomas Best was one of the best-liked men in Highgate. When John Saxe,[5] the original pioneer of that family, made his will on March 28, 1807, he named Best as one of his three executors, the other two being Matthew Saxe, his son, and Charles Miller. One of the three witnesses was Philip Ruiter, a son of Captain Henry Ruiter who was one of the principal Loyalists in the dispute about the right to the land in the Missisquoi district in Canada. Best's name occurs fairly often in the Stearns' account book. He owned a marble quarry, one of the first ever operated in northern Vermont, but its success was only moderate. The product was of a bluish tinge. Some of it is found in early Vermont and New York cemeteries.

In a recent address delivered by Dr. Samuel Eliot Morison, the eminent historian of Harvard College, on the "Log Cabin Myth" he claimed that the earliest settlers in Massachusetts—the Pilgrims and Puritans—did not live in log houses but in frame buildings from boards that were sawed by the settlers soon after they arrived. I do not know how he can know that, but perhaps he is right. What the Pilgrim fathers did, I do not pretend to say, but I do know that there were plenty of log cabins in Highgate in 1824-1833. What is more, William Stearns made a business of erecting log cabins and renting them to settlers whose means were limited. These were not the overnight cabins of the present era but a real home. The rent charged was ridiculously low—$1 a month in most cases, or $1.25 a month if a garden patch was to be thrown in.

This was a profitable venture for Stearns. No items in the book

has lived 100 years. Vrest Teachout Orton of Weston, Vermont, the well-known author and publisher, is connected with this family, his mother being a Teachout.

5. *Genealogy of the Saxe Family* (1930), by John Godfrey Saxe of New York.

better illustrate the humble circumstances of the Highgate pioneer, than these log cabin entries. If a man wished to build his own cabin, Stearns was ready to sell him the required logs for $3, which again seems ridiculously low. Think what you will of William Stearns, I believe you will agree that he was no profiteer. He did not know the meaning of the phrase, "main chance."

III. Three Melting-Pot Elements

JUST as Julius Caesar stated that "All Gaul is divided into three parts," so in the beginning Highgate was occupied by three groups —the Dutch and Germans whom I lump together, the French Canadians, and the English, or as we may more truly describe them, the New England Yankee stock chiefly from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Let us look at these three groups. The French easily slipped across the boundary line, not being just sure where it was, but being a bit particular that they were well across the line and inside the new state of Vermont.

The first Frenchman to come was Joseph Reycard who arrived only twenty-six years after James Wolfe had taken Quebec from the French. Reycard arrived in 1785, or 1786, and settled on what used to be known as the Drury farm, snug up to the line. In the following year, a child, Abram Reycard, was born, and it is claimed, but disputed by the Steinhours, that this child was the first person born in the town. James Bopee came about this same time, and thus began the gradual infiltration of Franklin County from the North, a process still in operation and which is destined, perhaps, to result eventually in two or three northern Vermont counties becoming pretty thoroughly dominated by French influences. Thus there lives today, in a different form, the ghost of the ancient dream of New France. Not in the seigniories as set forth, chiefly in documentary form, about three centuries ago, but in farms individually owned by the French with large families that can cultivate them, while the Yankee with a smaller family, and with members of it unwilling to stay on the home place, has sold out and relinquished his acres to the Canadians.

Turning to the pages of the Stearns account book we find some French names, although the big influx into Highgate did not come until after the collapse of the Papineau rebellions in 1839, when they came trekking across the line in goodly numbers, establishing large groups in Swanton and St. Albans, and no small group in Highgate.

There was before long a "French settlement" in Highgate, and it is there today, somewhat diffused. Stearns did not have many of these Canadians as customers, but such names as Antoine Benway, Hiram Fountain, and Jerry Goodheart occur, with others from the Fisher, Long and Boodry families, also Peter "Shambro," who may have been an Archambault. All of them apparently were in humble circumstances as regards worldly goods, a condition comparable today to that of the Jews of Europe who are being hounded out of Germany, Austria and other points by the ruthless Hitler regime. These Frenchmen would cheerfully perform hard labor, however, and the book shows that they worked for forty cents a day. Had they been of English extraction they would have received the full wage for day labor which was fifty cents a day. Plenty of items show that sum, with seventy cents in the haying season.

Referring again briefly to the Papineau rebellion which brought out the Highgate militia for patrol duty along the border line, my grandfather, John Anderson, was in that military company and received from the United States Government as pay for his patrol service a warrant for 160 acres of land in Wisconsin. William Stearns (Junior) and Eldad, sons of William, our pioneer, also received them, along with the rest of the military company. My grandfather sold his land warrant to a speculator for $50. To him Wisconsin was at the end of the world, and as a matter of fact the population of Wisconsin in 1836 was only 11,000. Many northern Vermont men went to that state in the next twenty years and one of them, Joseph H. Babcock, from Swanton, was one of the leading figures in Congress for a very long period. He was a sort of political boss, with power equal to that of the La Follettes.

The first census of Highgate, taken in 1791, showed a population of 103. The heads of families were seventeen in number, and of those apparently fourteen were Dutch or German. This will show how in the beginning for a short time Highgate was a Dutch community. It has been said that these first settlers were Hessians, soldiers who had decided not to go back to Germany. As a matter of fact I do not believe a single one of them was a former Hessian soldier. I think that they were almost entirely Loyalists who had lived in the Hudson Valley in the state of New York and had started to settle in Lower Canada, in "Dunn's Patent" or Missisquoi County as it now is called, and not getting a valid title of their lands, and getting a cold deal from General Haldimand, who did not want them located

there, they decided to return to the United States and naturally went to the first town at hand, which was Highgate.

There is a story, often repeated, that these early settlers in Highgate did not know that they were settling in the Unted States but thought they were in Canada. That is farfetched and should, in my opinion, be dismissed. They might for a few days or weeks have been deceived, but the state of Vermont had been in existence since 1777, and deeds to land in Highgate had to come from Ira Allen who owned most of the town. These first settlers were not ignorant squatters. They legally got their lands and there never afterwards was any question about their title. In the 1800 census of Highgate appears the name "John Steinmetz." He came from Hesse-Cassel, and I believe the whole yarn—and it is a yarn—about the Highgate settlers being former Hessians came from his presence. This name is now spelled Stimets by the Highgate records.

Let us return to that first census of Highgate. Here are the heads of families as written: Waggoner, John; Sat (Saxe), John; Galor, Baunt; Shidler (Shelter), John; Claw (probably Cray), John; Willeen, Corneleies; Steinhawer (Steinhour), George; Scisco (Sisco), Henry; Pangiman, Peter; Fitchout (Teachout), Jacob; Scrior, Nicholas; Wilson, George; Lampman, Michael; Lampman, Abraham; Butterfield, Jonathan; Frazer, Daniel; and John Hilliker. At least thirteen of the seventeen were Dutch or German, and in my opinion there is a great chance that all those thirteen were of Dutch stock from the Hudson Valley in New York. The Teachouts, I believe, came from Half Moon, a town then in Albany County, N. Y., now Saratoga County. The New York census of 1790 shows eight "Tichouts" in Half Moon. By the way, that place with its intriguing name is still on the map and is near Mechanicsville. The first Saxe came from Rhinebeck.

The 1800 census of Vermont shows in Highgate more Dutch people, such as the Hogles, Odells, Asseltines, Hoggabooms, Hoffmans, Hockstadts, Gunmans, Helms, Propers, and Scheyers, to mention only a few. Some of these families are still represented in Swanton and Highgate. Those whom I have known, and others whom I know by report, have been excellent citizens and will easily pass as old-fashioned Yankees. The process of assimilation usually was complete in two or three generations. It is so now, but I am not sure that the newcomers of today are as grateful for the shelter given them in a new haven. Too many of them, riding around in their

automobiles, are critical because the W.P.A. does not furnish enough pay.

The third element in the town, namely the English stock, in contrast to the other two groups, furnished the moneyed settlers. They had the "largest resources" as they came to town, but that was a relative term. They had "sold out" in Massachusetts and Connecticut and taking their profits had gone to a new pioneeer center. They had behind them experience and a knowledge of town government. Neither of the other two elements was well grounded in knowledge of New England institutions, such as self-government, and they had —some of them—a fair education. Therefore, they soon were in control of the town, elected the officers, sent a representative to the Assembly, and before long were "running things." Gradually the Dutch worked into places of responsibility, and at a later period the French took a hand in affairs. The melting pot thus began its work, and while the fusion may be called completed, it remains to be seen to what an extent the French will endeavor to push their influence. Certainly the French are capable of honest government.

No Vermont place name has been so mauled and twisted and distorted for two centuries as the Indian word which now appears officially in hybrid form, both in Canada and in this country, as "Missisquoi." There are more than thirty ways in which that word has been spelled on maps, documents, and books. Nearly 200 years ago on the De Lery map of Lake Champlain the spelling was Michiscouy. Other early versions are "Missiskoui" and "Messiskow." The meaning in each case is said to be taken from an Algonquin Indian word "missi" signifying "much" and "kisco" meaning either waterfowl or grass. The "kisco" seems more sensible because the Indians, always in search of food, would be more interested in waterfowl than grass. The "missi" meaning "much" is not confined to the Algonquin tongue but is found in many western Indian tribes and the word "Mississippi" means "much water."

In Ira Allen's day "Missisque" was quite commonly used, and Zadock Thompson in 1824 spelled it that way, but explains, curiously, that it is pronounced "Missisco." Naturally, I wondered what spelling Stearns would use, knowing that whatever he wrote would be his phonetic interpretation of a word he must have heard spoken a great many times. The word appears in his book only once and is then written "Musseskoie." Probably that is the way it sounded to him in Highgate at this early period. Not liking to struggle with the

word (who can blame him?), he avoided its use by referring always, except that once, to that locality as "the Bay." Jemima Howe, who was taken captive in 1755, refers to the place where she was taken (Swanton Falls) as "Messiskow." The Canadian Government is responsible for choosing "Missisquoi" as its official spelling of the name of the country in Canada next above Highgate. The United States Government, for the sake of uniformity, soon followed suit, and the spelling for more than a century has been as above stated. The people of the town in Orleans County so disliked the word that in 1803 they changed the name, which at first had been Missisco and then Missisquoi, to Troy. That change, I should say, was a wooden horse on them. The word in its final accepted form has its first syllable from the Indian tongue, and its ending "quoi" is the French interpretation of the last syllable in the French form. It is still pronounced in Vermont as if it were spelled "Missisco"—which is some satisfaction.

IV. Highgate in the Olden Days

THE Stearns farm, according to an entry in the account book made about 1824, consisted of about forty acres. It was in the Highgate Springs section of the town. One of the entries would make it appear as if the home place were called "Blue Point Farm," but I have not been able to find anyone who knows the property by that name. A decree of 1869, when the real estate was distributed by the Probate Court, speaks of the property of Jacob Carman as being adjacent, and refers to the "Buck House" as standing on the home farm.

The locality known as "Saxe's Mills," not far from the Canadian line, is frequently mentioned in Stearns' accounts. There was a store, gristmill, carding machine, marble mill, and a potash plant in that part of Highgate. The post office was there and the first town meeting was held at the Mills. The Saxe homestead was built not only for family use but also as a sort of tavern and social center. On one side of it was a long hall where dances were held. It is recalled that Minard Teachout, who was a cordwainer, or as he was more commonly called, shoemaker, was one of the musicians for the dances. So as time went on occasionally there was some fun in Highgate.

The population of Highgate in 1820 was 1250. The town at this

period had three sawmills, two gristmills, two taverns, two distilleries, one tannery, and one furnace. It had reached this status gradually, having been 437 in population in 1800. It had gone up to 1374 in 1810, and then had dropped back, having been hurt by the embargo of 1809, the events of the War of 1812, and worst of all by the very terrible year, 1816, when there was a frost or snow in every single month of the year, and literally many starved. To use a modern term everybody was "on relief" that year and most of the following season. The Stearns family went through that year and were fortunate, for plenty succumbed and others left Vermont. So in the decade from 1810 to 1820 the town lost 124 people.

By 1830 the town recovered some of its lost ground and by 1840 its population had risen to 2292. For the next hundred years, however, it was busy sending its sons to build up western New York, Ohio, and the Northwest generally, and it still remains a small town, delightful to visit in summer, quiescent in a wholesome agricultural atmosphere, with a few moderate-sized manufacturing plants. It is more famous for being the birthplace of the poet Saxe, and for the fact that Vermont's junior United States Senator, Warren Robinson Austin, was born there, than anything else. If there were plenty in town who had no love for the new deal of 1776, when the town got its start, there are also plenty there now who have no use for the present New Deal as the political returns from that town show on election nights.

I have spoken of Highgate as an isolated town, but I do not wish to convey the idea that there was no connection whatever with outside centers. Small vessels called sloops went to Albany, N. Y., via Lake Champlain, but the draft of this type of craft was shallow, and the amount of supplies handled in a trip was limited.[6] The real important trade connection was with Montreal, either via St. Johns, or in the winter direct with that center over the ice after the St. Lawrence River had frozen. It was in the cold season when they got

6. In the *Swanton Courier* for July 13, 1939, there is printed an extract from a typewritten pamphlet entitled "Annals of Highgate and Old Saxe Homestead," by Hannah Saxe Drury. This was written about 1906. Mrs. Drury corroborates what I have said about transportation in the early years. It gives a rosier picture of those days, as remembered from visiting the Saxe store at Saxe's Mills, a place much larger than the small plant of William Stearns. My account gives a poor man's setting, rather than that of a merchant's store. Incidentally, Mrs. Drury says that much hemlock from Franklin was shipped to Albany and New York.

their salt and other staples against the wants of a whole year. Imagine having to plan ahead for such a long period!

Fifty or sixty years ago the spring water at Highgate Springs was celebrated and that village was a small rival of Saratoga Springs, then at the height of its popularity as a health resort. The drinking of mineral water was then nothing less than a fad. These springs were not far distant from the Stearns farm, but they are not once mentioned in the account book, and at this early period probably were neglected. In my youth the product of these springs was quite generally called "rotten egg water," but people came from long distances to drink it to repletion, and some of them were "cured" of whatever ailed them. In 1885 when General Ulysses S. Grant was stricken with cancer, some of this spring water was dispatched to his bedside in the hope that it might afford him some relief. On May 24th, Queen Victoria's birthday, crowds of Canadians came to Highgate Springs on excursions to drink this water and have a good time in an extensive park. All this has long been changed—a glory that has departed.

V. Stearns as a Chair Maker

I HAVE no doubt that Stearns began in early manhood to make chairs. The first date that appears recording a chair sale is July 14, 1821. This is carried over from a previous account book. As it took ten years to fill this account book, the previous one may have been started as early as 1814 or thereabouts. This cited entry charges David Skeels $4.50 for six chairs. These not having been paid for in 1824, when Skeels was buying another half-dozen chairs, the original purchase was added, and eventually he paid for them and other household articles. Stearns rarely seems to have sought payment for anything. Perhaps that was the Highgate code a hundred years ago. Possibly, Stearns never went after his due because he believed the man's credit was good, and felt that eventually he would pay. Certainly some accounts went on for years and years and then finally were paid. So far as the books show, he lost relatively little from bad debts. A better average, I should say, offhand, than could be expected now in the average New England town. Who pays now?

I should like to inform the reader how Stearns happened to become a maker of chairs, but I cannot. He apparently supplied a town want. His prices to me seem low. In that era they may have seemed

large enough. Based on the fact that 50 cents was the wage for a laborer by the day, perhaps his charge for a chair was reasonable. Stearns made four kinds of chairs: an armchair which sold for 84 cents; an ordinary house chair for 75 cents; a "little chair," which doubtless was a child's chair, sold for 58 cents, although he sometimes got rash and charged 60 cents for one; rocking chairs cost $1.25, and, you can believe it or not, I should not be surprised if he was one of the few men in the state at that period who were making rocking chairs. The rocking chair is a relatively modern institution—more so than the casual inquirer would suspect. An ordinary chair could be converted into a rocker upon the payment of 25 cents, and he "rebottomed chairs" for 25 cents. He surely was no profiteer. Although Highgate grew rapidly in the decade we are studying, Stearns never changed the price of his chairs. This is a quiet commentary on the state of living in Highgate in the fact that he never attempted to get out of the economic groove. He knew that his neighbors had little money. I have in my home two maple chairs that he made and they are in use every day.

One other article which he appears to have manufactured in a small way was rakes. These, doubtless, were for use in the hayfields, and the tariff on them was 25 cents each. Sometimes he sold three rakes at a time. It was a sideline, carried, doubtless, as an accommodation to farmers who, lacking tools, did not feel able to bother in making their own. I wonder that he did not turn out snow shovels. Knowing what a Vermont winter can be, I still am surprised that nobody bought a snow shovel from him. Perhaps somebody did, and, wonder of wonders, paid for it, in which case the item never got into the book.

The entries show that during the winter months Stearns spent considerable time shaving shingles for his neighbors. This was a laborious effort, done by hand. His charge was one dollar a day while shaving shingles. Sometimes, more as an accommodation than as a source of revenue, Stearns occasionally moved a family out of town, or moved one into Highgate. His charge for what must have been quite a fussy moving job was $1.50, where it took the whole day. This era truly was before the moving racket was devised, and before three removes were as bad as a fire.

When I began to examine the book, I was at once struck with the frequency of the entries of 12½ cents, and 17 cents, or the multiples of those values. The explanation for these recurring figures, I found,

is that they represent the colonial values of the shilling, the smaller sum being the value of the shilling in the state of New York, and the larger representing the prevailing value of the New England shilling. When the United States placed its money upon a decimal basis, the English pound was figured at a value of $3.33 for New England and elsewhere in the former colonies; but in the states of New York, North Carolina, and Michigan the pound was esteemed to be worth only $2.50.[7] Hence a New England shilling was worth 16⅔ cents, while a "York shilling" was worth only 12½ cents.

In Highgate, shut off from close contact with the rest of New England but fairly near to New York, the York shilling value died hard, and all through the decade being examined these values persist. Not a single item in the whole book is 15 cents, or 35 cents, but 12½ abounds and 34 is very common.

Let us have a look at the book: potatoes are 34 cents a bushel; lime and apples each are 25 cents a bushel (two York shillings); Stearns bottoms a chair for 17 cents; tallow is 17 cents a pound; lots of articles are 13 cents, being the 12½ cents marked up a half cent. Highgate evidently would have been a poor place for any aspiring early Woolworth to have started a five and ten cent store.

When Solomon Stearns began life in Highgate, the best of the land had been chosen by the firstcomers, but he found a forty-acre place in the Highgate Springs section. This either was meadow land or he cleared it, and he also either bought or leased what was called "The Hempyard," a piece of land which is now within the limits of Swanton, having been annexed to that town in 1836 when there was a readjustment of town lines. This Hempyard is believed to be an old Indian burial ground. It received its name, it is said, not from the fact that any hemp ever was grown there, but from an observation by somebody that pine trees in the tract grew as straight as hemp. This sounds to me a bit difficult as an explanation, but it is, nonetheless, a long-established tradition. There was another small tract known as the "marsh lot," from the fact, I suppose, that it was on wet ground.

This is the general setting of the Stearns home. It was not far from the property of John Averill who owned the "Springs." In the distance toward the north was Teachout Hill. Still farther away on Rock River lay the mill property of Peter Saxe, father of the poet John Godfrey Saxe, who at the time the account book opens was only

7. A discussion of those values will be found under "shilling" in Webster's dictionary.

eight years old. The Conrad Saxe place was fairly near. You had to go to Highgate Falls to get to the principal store in town, that of S. W. & S. S. Keyes. East Highgate at that time was not settled. There was almost no community life because the farms were so scattered. So far as I can discover, there was not a single man in town with a college education which was not wholly surprising.

William Stearns never had a store in the sense that we use that term, but he was so much of a Yankee that his home must have housed a goodly supply of miscellaneous commodities, all placed in log structures, and he and his family from the beginning until 1833 lived in a log house. He was a trader, taking most anything that could be turned into cash or its equivalent in exchange for chairs that he manufactured by hand. Chairs were his chief source of income, and his reputation as a maker of them was well established. These he sold, taking as pay, lumber, grain, vegetables and a large number of articles that might be wanted upon a farm. Doubtless some actual cash sales occurred that do not appear upon the books, but the regular procedure was barter—the exchange of one thing for another. Stearns, of course, was not alone in this situation, for it inevitably was the trading rule in Highgate.

A century ago there were no bank checks in northern Vermont, and in the absence of checks, notes of hand passed in their stead. These circulated quite the same as bills and were almost as serviceable. If Stearns did not like the credit of a townsman, all he had to do was to refuse to take his note and insist that that of another person be offered. Like the others Stearns' own note was in circulation, and it sometimes happened that a buyer from him gave him in payment one of Stearns' own notes that had been going the rounds.

A customary method of transacting business was to accept in payment an order upon another person—practically what we call a draft. Usually it was upon the Keyes store, previously mentioned, or upon one of three or four stores in Swanton. There seems never to have been any trouble arising from this practice. If a Swanton man came to Highgate and bought chairs from Stearns, an order on Fletcher's store, or Farrar's store, or Green's store in that town was entirely acceptable. The next time Stearns was in Swanton he went to the store in question and selected such goods as he wanted either for himself or for resale in his own so-called store. This process may seem tiresome to us, but it was a necessary trading step in those days. Barter was the established rule.

So sound is the barter system in a basic way that it is being adopted in high places at this very time when money values are hard to compute in a world that awakes with a jitter and goes to bed with a jitter. At such a juncture the barter system comes into its own once more. Is not the United States at this very moment employing barter to build up its trade with South America? Is not Germany trying to do the same thing? Are we not preparing to exchange cotton for British tin or rubber? Will we not exchange anything we have for anything that any nation in the world has that we happen to want or can use? We are doing that very thing. In theory all foreign trade is on that basis, but it is only in the very recent past that we have sharply turned our attention to this feature as a positive bit of insurance in getting our pay. Yes, Cordell Hull may think he has found a new device, but he is merely taking a page out of an old Highgate account book.

Reverting once more to the barter feature of trading, it may be interesting to note that commodities that were used as cash were corn, wheat, rye or beans. And as a sidelight on conditions at the gristmills, it can be said that nobody paid anything to have his crop of wheat or corn ground in the mill. The miller was expected to take his pay by retaining a certain percentage of whatever went through the hopper. This is another way of calling attention to the scarcity of actual money in circulation in Highgate.

Stearns often writes in his book, after delivering chairs to a customer: "To be paid for in sheep before January 1"; "To be paid for in grain next Winter"; "To be paid for in work"; or "To be paid for in goods at his store," in the case of a Swanton merchant. Sometimes a triangular feature appears when Stearns writes in his book: "To be paid by him to Peter Sax by January 1." One of his customers was credited with $1, which is to be paid for by "two days' work on the highway." That meant that the customer performed labor for the town, which otherwise Stearns himself would have had to do.

These situations doubtless at that period were duplicated elsewhere in Vermont in towns of the same size and same inaccessibility. As soon as banks began to function, and the railroads began to handle freight freely, this primitive system was dropped. But in 1824-1833 it was in general use. It was a case of swap, swap, swap, with a final settlement at intervals with cash, or a note for the difference. Primitive as the system may seem, it was on a perfectly safe basis, and out-

side of the inconvenience involved, and the time consumed, it was not a bad system at all—unless a man died while waiting for his pay.

This was not an era when a settler could long keep a hired man in his employ. In the ten years under examination Stearns had three. Few men with any ambition were willing to work for somebody else in a time when land was to be had at a reasonable price. So each hired man stayed long enough to accumulate a fund and then set up his own log cabin, for every Highgate pioneer started in that type of habitation. Stearns paid his farm helpers $5 a month during the winter months and $9 a month during the summer and fall. These figures did not include the cost of shoes or clothing. His helpers were William Kent, James Higgins, and Francis Mantle, the latter was a relative of Charles Mantle who had married a sister of Stearns, Thirza, or as they called her in the family "Tursey."

VI. Meats Cheap and Tinware High

TURNING to the book again, the prices of meats, as might be expected, were very low. Beef and veal sometimes sold as low as 3 cents a pound, but usually at 4. Mutton sold for 4 cents, but sometimes at 5. Pork was the staple meat food, however, and its price in the decade covered rather a wide range. It was as low as 4 cents in 1824 and as high as 12½ cents a pound in 1830. The price, doubtless, followed the result of the corn crop. In 1824, Solomon Stearns was credited with "106 gammons of pork" at 8 cents a pound. This commodity, little known to the present householder, was salted and smoked pork, and corresponded to what we today call ham. "Gammon" is an old term. Those who remember their nursery rhymes may recall these lines: *With a Rowley, Powley, Gammon and spinach, Hi, Oh, says Anthony Rowley!*

Pop Eye, the sailor man of movie fame, has long sung the praises of spinach, but I am not aware that he ever put in a good word for gammon. Incidentally there is no mention of ham or bacon in the book.

Fish are seldom mentioned, but mackerel, salt, of course, occasionally are charged at 5 cents each. Fowl also do not often appear and then at 20 cents each. Eggs sold at a York shilling a dozen, the price never varying. Evidently cake-making was not much in vogue, and eggs on toast is a device of a much later era.

There is no mention of green corn, string beans, or green peas.

Indeed, one of the striking features of the book is the absence of vegetables—"roots" they were called in those days. Turnips are frequently mentioned, but evidently only because they were excellent fodder for the stock. No mention at all occurs of squash, beets, carrots or cabbage, and yet I have no doubt that most of those vegetables were raised somewhere in town. Onion seed is mentioned, but no onions as a food. On the other hand, there is one item of 95 bushels of turnips—quite an order. With this statement it is easy to see that our forefathers did not have what we call a "balanced ration." There was too much meat and not enough vegetables. Yet they lived, some of them, to be ninety and never knew there was such a thing as a vitamin, nor did they worry about their blood pressure. If they did a daily dozen, it was with an axe or a pitchfork.

It might be supposed that a century ago brick in Highgate would be expensive. They were not. They sold two bricks for a cent. About the time that Stearns built his house he bought 850 bricks. This was not enough to give the house a brick front, and I do not undertake to say how they actually were utilized—perhaps for a brick smoke-house. There were a number of brick houses in town at an early date. Thomas Best had one of them. The Keyes store was of brick. I venture the conjecture, because of their cheapness, that these brick were made in Swanton. Certainly they were not imported from England. "Shugar" is frequently entered in the book, and always during the whole decade at 12½ cents a pound. This was white sugar, but there also was maple sugar which was made in goodly quantities in town.

The lumber entries are numerous, showing that most of the timber was pine, hemlock or maple. Once in a while an oak tree was sold, usually for $2. The timber sometimes was sold by the tree—so much for a tree. Maple trees sold for as low as 50 cents each. Hemlock bark was a staple commodity and varied in price from $1.75 to $1.25 a cord. The earlier prices were at the higher figure. Steinhour & Brown in 1827 bought 27 cords at the low price, for use in their tannery which apparently was quite an important local industry. Lath sold at a half cent each, and shingles, made by hand, were valued at $2 a thousand. The word "clapboard" does not occur in the entire book, which fact is a surprise to me.

Various writers on Vermont have pointed out that the state has within its borders all the elements necessary to sustain life and assure comfort, except that salt is lacking. The modern householder gets

plenty of salt cheap, but it was quite otherwise a century ago. Salt usually was procured from St. Johns or Montreal, in Lower Canada, the price being 80 cents a bushel. The items show that in the autumn salt was in much demand to enable the "putting down" of salt pork and salt beef for the winter. A meat tub in which the pork and beef was corned cost $2. These are sometimes called powdering tubs. They are so described in the inventory of the estate of Jesse Welden, the first settler of St. Albans who died in 1795, having gone to St. Johns in October to get a boatload of salt. The boat upset on the return trip, and he was drowned. The boat probably was overloaded—or else he was.

One of the articles that in 1825 sold at what we may call a notably high price was tinware. One large tin pail cost $1.50 while others cost $1.25, and still others sold at 92, 67, or 58 cents—prices reminiscent of the value of the New England shilling. Later, these tinware prices were knocked down and by 1831 an eight-quart pail could be bought for 50 cents. Basins holding three pints sold for 25 cents, and pint cups for 12½ cents—the familiar York shilling. Doubtless this tinware came from England via Quebec. A few earthen milk-pans, size not stated, sold for 17 cents. It is possible that this earthenware had been made in Bennington and had reached the north part of the state through the activity of peddlers. This, however, is entirely a matter of conjecture. Certainly the price was low enough to suggest that the earthenware was of New England or New York manufacture.

Highgate was one of the few Franklin County towns that produced bog ore in abundance, and furnaces at an early date were set up to convert this ore into iron. In 1825, several tons of ore were drawn from three different localities, one of which was the John Averill farm. This was drawn for the use of Benjamin Franklin Hollenbeck and Luther K. Drury who seem to have been associated in a furnace enterprise. Some of this ore is entered as "drawn from Gaits." It is possible that this refers to Philip Gates of Franklin whose forbears had lived in Worcester, Mass. The Gates family is one of the most prominent in that town. From the furnaces, above mentioned, was produced an abundance of iron, and when made into chains it sold for 17 cents a pound. Old iron sold for only a cent and a half a pound, which is an indication of the natural preference the settlers had for good quality new iron, even if it did cost a shilling a pound. These furnaces for a long time did a good business, but

later the advent of the railroad, with its supply of iron articles at a low price, caused them to fall into disuse.

Liquid refreshment is almost unrecorded in the book. Perhaps customers at the end of a good Yankee trade received a "snifter," but the pages are silent on that point. There are, however, a few entries of small quantities of rum or whisky, with an occasional entry of a glass of "sling," for which the charge was six cents. There are not a half-dozen such items in the whole ten-year period. Evidently it was expected that refreshments of that type would be procured at the village taverns at the Falls, or at the Mills. In spite of the cheapness of apples there is no mention of cider, nor of vinegar, which suggests that perhaps at that time Highgate did not boast the presence of a cidermill. Certainly no young man got his start down hill by buying strong drink from William Stearns. He sold hay, chairs, and rakes.

Naturally, I wonder how all those apples happened to be planted in Highgate, but no answer thus far has appeared. Perhaps "Johnny Appleseed" visited that distant locality. At any rate apples were surprisingly cheap in town. This suggests that the absence of shortening made the making of apple pies difficult. Only once do I find any mention of dried apples, and then they are entered at the rate of $2 a bushel. Who would have wanted the leathery stuff at any price? This reminds me that in my Connecticut account book of 1765 before me, I find this item: "a day of shaking apels, 50 cents"—a pretty frank confession of primitive apple picking or of laziness. Perhaps there were no stepladders in that day.

VII. Short Gamut of Purchases

CHOSEN at random, various items are set down that may convey information, or give a better idea of how the townspeople in Highgate or vicinity actually lived or transacted business:

In April, 1827, W. F. Cooper loaned Stearns 15 lights of "American glass, valued at five cents each." This is a low price, it seems to me, but glass was being made at an early period in the Hudson River district of New York state. The loan was duly repaid.

In 1825, James Higgins, the hired man, who was working for $9 a month that summer, took in payment for his services a cow valued at $14, and a yearling steer at $7. Deducted from these figures were $2 which Stearns paid out for a pair of shoes for Higgins.

Elijah Hubbell in 1827 paid for a bill of goods by turning in a churn for $1.25 and a washtub for $1.

John Lodge ran up a bill for $25 which it seems he could not conveniently pay. Having considerable land, he deeded a plot of it to Stearns and thus discharged his obligation.

David Hunt had an account that amounted to more than $50. He paid the bill by turning in various items of value and among them were 50 sap buckets, which he delivered just at the right time—March 15, getting a credit of $12.50, which was at the rate of 25 cents a bucket. Not a bad price.

Solomon Stearns, Junior, in 1824 paid a bill for various items by turning in a crowbar, valued at $2.50, and 15 pounds of nails at 10 cents a pound. He also delivered a bushel of salt for which he got a credit of 80 cents.

In 1832, Orange Seward bought 10 bushels of lime and a half bushel of hayseed for $2. He paid for this with 22 pounds of shingle nails at the rate of "nine pence" per pound. This is the only item in the book where pence is mentioned. Shillings are never mentioned as such, but the shilling value, as will be seen, is constantly figuring in the accounts.

William Proper (a Dutchman) in 1832 bought six chairs and a plowpoint, total cost $5.25. He paid for this the following year, by agreement, by teaming. "Self and horses," says the book.

In 1833, Thomas Best, whose note was held by Stearns for an unstated amount, paid all of it except $3. Stearns gave up the note and wrote in the book: "Note given up, but $3 is to be paid in sheep when called for." They were duly delivered—two sheep at $1.50 each.

In 1833 Jedediah Tuttle of Sheldon came into town, perhaps not being acquainted with the Keyes store. So Stearns gave Tuttle an order for $7 for goods at the Keyes store. Later, Tuttle delivered to Stearns cloth (of his own manufacture I think) worth $4 and dressed some flannel for him, thus discharging the balance of his obligation.

Francis Mantle, one of the hired hands, in 1828 paid a bill for accumulated rent of a log house by threshing oats in November, and "helping kill the hogs." This was when Stearns was getting ready for the winter.

In 1832, Jacob Brewer outfitted his house with armchairs, rocking chairs and little chairs, and paid for the whole by turning in 2500 feet of hemlock boards. Other supplies were paid for by delivering

to the seller plank and lath. These items, I believe, were for use in the house that Stearns was planning to build.

Antoine Benway in 1830 ran up a bill of about $25. He paid this in various ways; one of them was splitting 900 rails, which probably was for fencing. All the credit he got for that work was $2.25. But he produced tanbark worth $8.62, and finally let Stearns have his cow for some months in order to get $2.25 off the bill.

David Skeels in 1824 bought 62½ bushels of ashes for $10.58. This is the only item in the book about ashes, but there was a potashery at Saxe's Mills. It used to be said that the settlers in Vermont made pot and pearl ashes for export to England and sold them for cash so that they could pay their taxes. One ashes item in ten years in the Stearns' book is an indication that, so far as he was concerned, transportation difficulties hampered what otherwise might have been a lucrative side line.

Reuben Davis in September, 1830, bought six chairs for $4.50. Below is this entry: "To be paid in a pair of thick boots by January 1." The credit page is missing, being cut out.

Silvester Perrigo ran up a bill for various articles, including "H.K. tea," which I guess may be Hong Kong tea, at 46 cents a pound. The bill kept mounting and finally had to be discharged by turning in some steers at $15 each.

In 1825, Gilbert Van Allen, who seems to have been both a tailor and a shoemaker, paid for various supplies by making some shoes for the children, and "a grate cote" (overcoat) and a vest for Stearns himself.

David Hunt was charged (price agreed upon) $16.25 for keeping a mare and colt through the winter. On the other hand, several people had the use of a pasture in the summer for 12½ cents. Perhaps this was a monthly charge, but it is not so entered.

The familiar phrase "boot," as a trading term, appears quite often. Close bargaining was the rule. Elisha Barr and Stearns swapped oxen, Barr giving 31 cents to boot—that must have been a grand old wrangle. On the other hand, Patrick Kirk and Stearns exchanged cows, Stearns getting $2 boot. That sounds more like a real trade.

In December, 1833, William Flinton had run up a bill of $43.91 for supplies and rent for one of those log cabins. He paid this off by outfitting the whole family with boots and shoes, and included a "pair of lace boots" for Mrs. Stearns, for which he got 62½ cents credit. Having balanced the bill, he did the usual thing, started an-

other bill. The first item was 40 cents for whisky. Men do not change much.

In 1825, Hiram Fountain, one of the Frenchmen, blossomed out in a pair of "gaiters with gilt buttons" and a red cap. He must have been the Beau Brummel of Highgate. The gaiters set him back only 25 cents, but the cap cost 50 cents. Several other people at this time bought red caps. Perhaps they were used at muster.

Only one pair of oxen appear in the book. They were valued at $45. Cows constantly appear on the credit side and are listed as being valued all the way from $13 to $18 each, with $15 the prevailing figure. There were many cows in Highgate, but no dairying, as the term is now understood, was undertaken. Lack of transportation is the explanation.

Various items include the payment of $1.50 by Stearns for what he calls "two patent pitchforks." I suppose those were iron pitchforks, welded into a special shape. Probably the Fuller Brush man of a century ago put on extra pressure and landed his victim.

Stearns in 1827 loaned 20 cents to one of his neighbors so that he could get a letter out of the post office. There were no stamps at that period and letters came with the collect charge written on the outside of the letter.

Straw hats appear fairly frequently and always at the uniform price of 50 cents.

Lanterns are only occasionally mentioned, the price then being one dollar. Whale oil was available at Saxe's Mills but possibly a candle was used in the lantern.

Only once are "muskmillons" mentioned and then 22 of them came to town from St. Johns and sold for $5.75. Some feast!

Most of the time there was only one doctor in town. He was Dr. Joseph B. Cutler who came to Highgate in 1806 and did not die until 1861, aged 81. He traded with Stearns and doubtless attended his family, although the entries do not show this, for he seems to have paid for whatever he bought. Dr. Franklin Bradley came in 1832.

William Teachout was charged 50 cents for "one bunnit" in 1831, which is the only item of that sort in the book. This may be pin money earned by Sally Stearns, wife of William, who perhaps fashioned something pretty for Mrs. Teachout's Sunday-go-to-meeting use. Items of personal finery are very scarce, as might be expected in the account book of a man who was dealing with farmers.

The inside of the back cover of the account book served as a con-

venient place for memoranda. There is a recipe for a sick horse. It is composed of sulphur, salts, saltpetre and tartar emetic, which looks as if the horse was sure to be sicker.

On the back cover there also appears this interesting jog for Stearns' memory: "Cow with the yallow tit went to bull 25th of March, to calve the 25th of December, 1830." It is to be hoped that this carefully planned Christmas present arrived according to schedule.

VIII. Three Puzzles of 1830

I FEEL considerable doubt about the meaning of three entries. The first is: "Permit for salt, one dollar." This was charged in 1833 against Amos Stow, who lived near the Canadian line. He is usually described as being "at the Bay," probably meaning the American side of Missisquoi Bay. Does this permit refer to a community deposit of salt, upon which customers could draw if furnished with the permit? Or was it a sort of grapevine arrangement with friendly people over the Canadian line who joined in winking at smuggling? There always has been petty smuggling along the northern Vermont border, and in 1809 when the embargo was on, there were some major operations in which Highgate men were involved. I am puzzled by the entry. I somehow think that there is more than meets the eye behind that entry. But what it is, I do not undertake to say.

The second puzzling item is presented by finding the phrase as a charge item—"To jumping an axe."[8] Several times this phrase occurs on the credit side of the book. When David Skeels jumped axes for anyone, the charge was a dollar a jump, but Conrad Saxe would jump them for fifty cents each. Both men had forges and it seems clear that "jumping" was a technical name for some process relating to forging. The *Century Dictionary* identifies the word "jump" as one of the terms in a welding process. I have found no axe manufacturer, blacksmith or logging man who has ever heard of the phrase. I suspect, or rather give a Yankee guess, that jumping an axe means that a piece of iron was tempered and laboriously made into a serviceable axe. What do you think?

The third item reads: "To making fliars, 50 cents." It is charged against Joseph Stickney. These "fliars" had nothing to do with

8. My inquiries about "jumping an axe" must have been made to more than a dozen people in the axe atmosphere. I never heard a responsive peep.

Darius Green, or with his successor "Wrong Way" Corrigan of our own time. The entry, dated March 1, 1830, might, I suppose, possibly refer to handmade flyers or warnings of a coming town meeting, since there probably was no printing office in town. That conjecture is offered in a desperate mood. Possibly "fliars" was a colloquial name for spigots, to be used in the maple sugar season about to open, but that also is a long shot. So I give it up, and pass the guessing on to my readers. It is nothing over which to lose any sleep. This "fliar," I may point out, is cheaper than those that usually are taken in the market. But why bring that up?

Some of the entries relating to spinning are unusual and a bit puzzling. We know, of course, that at this period much of the family clothing was produced in the home, perhaps all of it. A quaint entry is a charge of $1.50 made against Conrad Saxe on May 1, 1824, for what he calls a "quil wheel." This, no doubt, is a quilling-wheel, used a century ago in spinning. The weaving instrument now has long been obsolete, both here and in England where it originated. At about this time the weavers of England were beginning to feel the economic pinch which later became a race between hand production and power production in which the last named was destined to ruin the weaving craft. In America the race was less ruinous because if a weaver could not ply his trade in this new country, he could readily turn to some other gainful activity. All that the above item about the "quil wheel" means is that in 1824-1833 some people in Highgate were practicing old-fashioned weaving.

About a month before the entry just discussed there is another one reading: "To moving my quil, cart & oxen, $1.50." The charge is against Patrick Kirk, and the item possibly means that Stearns had loaned the quilling-wheel to Kirk and was bringing it back to his own home. These wheels were of two different types, one large, the other small. It permits the conjecture that the wheel in question was of the larger type.

There likewise is evidence pointing to the probable use of what are called "skarnes," an auxiliary weaving article. On January 23, 1825, Stuart Challis, who I believe lived in Swanton, was supplied with "18 spools" at ten cents each—$1.80, one of the very few items in the book that is on a dime basis. These, I believe, were loom spools for a "skarne." This utensil is somewhat difficult to describe, and I simply say that it is a scarce type of weaving utensil, and the word means nothing to anybody of the present time. Alice Morse Earle,

our most gifted and competent student of colonial customs, complains in 1898 that the word "skarn" is not found in any dictionary, yet she says that she has seen it in plenty of advertisements issued in colonial times.[9] I can uphold her statement, for my Connecticut account book in 1768 mentions a "skarn." There are other spellings, such as "scarn," "skan," "skean" and "skayn." The word, however, never has been nabbed by a lexicographer. Why not? Why snub a skarn?

In Mrs. Earle's book there is a picture of a skarn with 68 loom spools. It is my belief that the 18 spools mentioned in Stearns' account book were for a skarn and were replacements for spools that had been damaged or lost. It should be noted that the date of the entry—in the middle of the winter—is just the time when shut-in country householders turned devotedly to spinning and weaving.

In my Connecticut account book a "quil wheel and swifts" are priced at two shillings, while a "pare of warping barrs and scarns" are priced at 12 shillings. A weaver's loom cost two pounds and 10 shillings. Quilling-wheels in Highgate cost more than they did in the Nutmeg state.

Hay is one of the commodities that always was plentiful, and yet sold at a relatively high price—I mean by the early Highgate standard. Hay was from $6 to $8 a ton, with $7 a ton as the prevailing figure. He apparently had a large amount of hay, and as he had no barns and kept the hay in stacks in the fields, as many a Vermont farmer does today, he naturally sold as much as he could. These sales were in the autumn, but every year in February, or March, as I study the entries, he was saving some neighbor from distress. At this time of year, he often sold 500 pounds of hay, or half a ton, or even as low as 200 or 300 pounds of hay to some neighbor. Sometimes the entry is marked "X." This "X" mark, I feel sure, after some sleuthing, is his way of saying "exchange," for sometimes he writes beside the entry, "To be returned in the Fall." He helped out Peter Saxe with hay on several occasions.

Items relating to tobacco are fairly frequent. The price usually was 25 cents a pound, the form not specified, except in one case when it is set down as "plug tobacco." Perhaps this tobacco was raised in

9. *Home Life in Colonial Days* by Alice Morse Earle (1898), p. 216, has a description of a quilling-wheel, and on p. 229 are pictures of two different types of quilling-wheels. On p. 217 is a picture of a skarn with loom spools.

Lower Canada by Loyalists who formerly had lived in the Connecticut River Valley in the Nutmeg state. I know of no way of learning where the commodity originated. In my Connecticut account book in the year 1768 there appears a lot of items reading like this: "To a yard of tobacco, two pence." This would indicate that the leaves were braided green and then dried.

There is no mention of snuff in the Stearns' account book, but the taking of snuff in that town was a common practice and within fifty years goodly quantities were sold there by my father, and also in some of the adjacent towns. Believe it or not, there is a lot of snuff still sold in Boston at the present time. Until 1855 it was the custom in Massachusetts to have in the State Capitol in Boston at the Speaker's desk in the House, a large snuffbox for use by those who came up to the desk to confer with the Speaker. The slang phrase "to take a snifter," now applied to a drink, may have originated in the snuff habit. The snuffbox was banished by the "Know-Nothing party," as a blow at anything that had been tolerated by the Whigs.

In her recollections,[10] Mrs. Drury says that in 1835 at the Saxe store in Highgate there was a supply of Scotch snuff, which she observes "was kept on a high shelf." I can tell why it was placed on that high shelf. It was a custom that had grown up in the rural districts for customers to help themselves to a pinch of snuff from the jar on the shelf. This became such an annoyance that many store keepers felt obliged to adopt the device of placing the snuff quite out of reach. In 1869, when my father, Stephen B. Anderson, was a clerk in the Soule store at Fairfield Center, Vermont, he was asked by Mr. Soule, the proprietor, if he could not do something to stop a certain woman from tapping the snuff jar every time she came into the store. "I'll stop her all right," said my father. Whereupon he removed the snuff from the jar and filled it with cayenne pepper. In came the lady "snifter" and took a big pinch from the snuff jar. The result, as my father said, was that: "She sneezed her damned head off, and never bothered us again." In 1897, my father wrote for a newspaper his reminiscences of fifty years as a commercial traveller, and he told about this incident of 1869. He had a letter from a woman in Kansas, whom he remembered as a little girl, who wrote him that she was in the Soule store when the snuff incident occurred, and that the whole town of Fairfield enjoyed the joke.

10. Published in the *Swanton Courier*, July 13, 1939.

IX. Peter and Conrad Saxe as Customers

MENTION has been made of Peter Saxe, the father of the poet. Peter and "Young Peter" appear fairly frequently in the pages. On one occasion Stearns sold Saxe two pounds of tea for $1.92. This seems a very high price, but it illustrates how far Highgate was out of the trading centers. Saxe himself sold tea. He was one of the leading men of the town, and the fact that Stearns and Saxe had much to do with each other is a straw in favor of the hard-working Stearns who still lived in his log house.

The name of Jerry Goodheart who was the miller at Saxe's Mills appears only once in the book. That was a time when Stearns loaned 50 cents to Jerry. That was a trivial affair, no doubt about that, but it permits some speculation and rumination. Fifty cents was a day's work. Why did not Jerry ask Peter Saxe for the loan? Why did he prefer to go to Stearns for such a small accommodation? We shall never know. Men today usually prefer to get a temporary loan from most anybody but the boss, and also prefer that the boss should not know about the transaction. Furthermore, as we have seen, there rarely was much money at the mill, the toll being on a percentage based on the amount of grain that was ground. So Jerry wanted 50 cents. He got it. He paid it back.

It was of this employee of his father that John Godfrey Saxe wrote, when he penned his touching ballad, "Little Jerry the Miller." Those who have Saxe's poems at hand may care to read about this sterling and lovable character, who was friendly to all with whom he came in touch, and whose death inspired such recognition from the Vermont poet.

The poem starts this way:

Beneath the hill you may see the mill
Of wasting wood and crumbling stone;
The wheel is dripping and clattering still,
But Jerry, the miller, is dead and gone.

He proceeds to pay a deserved tribute to this Frenchman who was beloved by everyone. His true surname was "Fortboncoeur," which is a stronger word than plain "Goodheart." In her recollections of Saxe's Mills, Mrs. Drury[11] says that the mill was built in 1820 by

11. *Swanton Courier*, July 13, 1939.

Jack Winters. This is the John Winters who in 1833 did the plastering for William Stearns' new house.

The name of Conrad Saxe, a brother of Peter Saxe, appears many times in the book. He had a forge and was one of the principal men in Highgate. He was well known to my father, Stephen B. Anderson, and was popularly known as "Old Coon Saxe." He was a solid substantial town character, being a Justice of the Peace, and Captain of the local militia. The Saxe family, speaking of the descendants of John Saxe the first of the name, was divided in its political views. The majority originally were adherents to the British crown, and today there probably are more Saxes in Canada than there are in the United States. Like many another prominent family, each went its way. Conrad Saxe was one of the thoroughly devoted Americans, and so was the poet, and his grandson, John Godfrey Saxe of New York City, today is one of the most prominent Democrats in that city. Generally speaking, of course, the other Saxes, whether located in America or in Canada, are all good citizens.

No item in the whole book personally pleased me more than that of 25 cents that in 1824 Stearns charged Conrad Saxe for "drawing kittles out of the sap bush." While the usual Vermont phrase is "sugar bush," meaning an orchard of sugar maple trees, to find more than a century ago in this account book this simple little phrase, such a friendly reminder of spring days when a lad must step lively to attend the fires under the boiling sap, and must keep long hours, was indeed a pleasure. I think Conrad Saxe got off too lightly with that 25 cent charge for teaming, yet it really represented a half day's pay at the prevailing price of labor. The charge passed unnoticed in that era, and no C.I.O. or W.P.A. was around to patrol the Stevens farm and picket him as unfair to labor.

The name of Clark Stearns appears frequently in the transaction. He was a younger brother of William, said to have been born in 1804. Clark had an older brother, Solomon Stearns, Junior, born about 1796 who married Polly (Mary) Woodruff. He was drowned in the St. Lawrence River, leaving his wife and three children. Clark Stearns then married the widow, and they had nine children of their own. He received the given name "Clark" because his mother's maiden name was Jemima Clark. William and Clark were very friendly and had various transactions. Another brother James, born around 1794, married Maria Deal (probably a daughter of the Loyalist Deal) and they had twelve children—all girls. (What conver-

sation that must have made!) A sister, Phoebe Stearns, born about 1792, probably in Chester, Vermont, married Alden Chase, and lived in Chase's Mills, St. Lawrence County, N. Y. Abner Stearns, who was either the oldest or next to the oldest of the Stearns children, moved from Highgate just previous to 1824 and finally died in Chase's Mills at the age of 95. He was born in Chester, Vermont, about 1788.

The father, Solomon Stearns, was living in Chester in 1791 when the first Vermont census was taken, but in 1800 when the second Vermont census was taken he was in Highgate. I think he must have had some legal troubles and had gotten into debt. Prior to 1836, in Vermont imprisonment for debt was one of the barbarous methods of harrying a person who could not satisfy his creditor. The law drove Ira Allen and others out of the state, and from the presence of payments to lawyers, as shown in a memorandum, there is a chance that Solomon Stearns went to live with his son Abner in Chase's Mills to avoid being "pinched" for debt. This is conjecture and may not be correct. He lived until 1842 and might have returned to Highgate after the repeal of the law but did not, probably because he was an old man and was comfortable where he was.

One of the oldtime customers was Henry Steinhour who is generally regarded as the first male child to be born in Highgate. His father, Peter Steinhour, was one of the Dutch or German settlers who arrived in Highgate in 1787. It is related of him that after going a long distance to get some potatoes to plant, and getting them covered into the ground, he was obliged to dig them up to escape starvation. Peter Steinhour had 16 children, 8 sons and 8 daughters. His son Henry at the time this account book opens was engaged in tanning, and he had considerable to do with Stearns. He bought from him hides and calfskins and large quantities of hemlock bark. At a much later period he was proprietor of a hotel in Highgate, a hostelry which in my youth was known as the "Old Maid Steinhour's hotel"—a place where I have attended dances when I was a young blade.

X. Sidelights on Trading Customs

SO far as the book discloses, only one dispute of any consequence occurred in the ten years. That difference was in 1824 and was over the account of John Carman. It was necessary to call in ar-

bitrators. The exact situation can be explained only upon a conjectural basis. Apparently Carman had indorsed the note of Thomas Best, and Stearns expected Carman to be made responsible on settlement, and also objected to some credit items claimed by Carman. The difficulty apparently was adjusted by requiring Carman to pay Best's note while Carman got credit for items the details of which are not disclosed. The final account stood at $43.57. Carman signed in the book with "Conrad Sax present," while Stearns wrote "Settled in full" with Conrad Weazel (what a name!) present. The parties continued to have trade relations so the affair left no scars. Only on one other occasion did Stearns require one of his customers to sign a receipt in the book. This practice of signing in books of account was quite general before 1800, and the abandoning of it, except in cases of disagreement, signified business progress. In various books of account, with which I am familiar, considerable formality was observed in these periodical settlements.[12] In Highgate this red tape, apparently, was cut out. It had required more than fifty years to accomplish this change. Query: Was this an early exemplification of the oft-repeated correct saying that the customer is always right?

The only items that suggest relaxation are those of "knapsacks," and the word, for a wonder, is spelled correctly. These items always appear in June, good evidence that June training was not far away. These were homemade knapsacks and the charge usually was fifty cents. Some of the Highgate housewives probably got some pin money for these articles. The book, however, shows very few entries that suggest pin money. Once William Stearns' wife sold two coverlets for $1.50 each. There is hardly another entry of that sort.

Reverting to June training in Highgate, there is an anecdote to the effect that the young men from that town appeared before their superior officer, who was Colonel Levi Hungerford, barefoot and proposed to go to muster in that way. Hungerford said nothing except that he would like to march the boys around a bit to see how they handled themselves on the field. He then selected a pasture full of thistles and unmercifully sent the raw troops over the ground.

12. It formerly was the practice to have the parties sign in the book at each accounting. This was equivalent to a receipt and signified a final discharge of the obligation.

Whereupon there was a surrender and thereafter the boys reported for military instruction with their shoes on.[13]

In this early period sheep were numerous. In 1840, the town of Highgate had more than 8,000 sheep. In 1825, sheep, according to the entries, were worth $1.50 each and wool was valued from 42 to 50 cents a pound. The wool, of course, was used in spinning clothing for both sexes. Foot wheels cost $4, and the ordinary spinning wheel is entered at $2. Tallow, used chiefly for candles, was a shilling a pound. Candles themselves cost two cents each, and apparently were in little demand. The people of Highgate in those early days went to bed almost as soon as it was dark, and got up with the rising of the sun.

The book is full of potato entries. The sandy soil of Highgate is admirably adapted to the raising of tubers, and in 1840 nearly 40,000 bushels were produced there. Today, Highgate could compete with the potatoes of Aroostook, and make plenty of money, if anybody with a little organizing ability and some financial backing would undertake the raising of potatoes. The town could surprise Maine, but will it?

It is apparent from an examination of the book that Stearns had some losses caused by failure to pay the account. Either the people suddenly disappeared from town, or died leaving a widow and small children, or just could not make both ends meet. Such items, here and there, are either crossed off the books, or left unsettled.

It was a common thing for an account to run two or three years without any payments. Then, perhaps because the memory of the customer had been jogged, the account suddenly would be paid in full. It was not the Highgate code to charge interest. In the whole period there is only one instance where interest is charged and that was on a long-standing note. It was an easy-going community, so far as obligations are concerned. This is rather astonishing in view of the fact that a debtor could be jailed if he did not pay. Annoying a man who owed you—it just was not done in Highgate. One of the reasons for that was that there was only one lawyer in town, Robert L. Paddock. Later, when lawyers became numerous litigation picked up. Why not?

After studying some of the entries, I believe that Stearns had a shrewd Yankee way of compelling borrowers to return the article.

13. See "June Training in Vermont," by L. L. Dutcher, *Hemenway's Gazetteer*, Volume II, pp. 347-355.

I believe it was his practice to say to applicants for the loan of some article: "I'll have to charge you for the use of this at the rate of 25 cents a day, but if you return it in a day or so, I won't charge you anything." The manner in which these entries are made indicates just such an arrangement: Use of slay (sleigh) 25 cents and then marked off: use of wagon wheels (imagine that) to go to St. Johns, 75 cents; use of a cross-cut saw three days 75 cents, and then marked off; and so on, pistols, augers, anything that a neighbor needed badly just for a short time. And may I record here that Ezekiel Loucks in 1831 borrowed five augers and a pistol, for which the charge was $1. Ezekiel brought back the augers, but he apparently never returned the pistol or paid the $1. Perhaps he lost the pistol at muster.

There are a few entries about planting. Stearns planted his own corn in 1824 on May 25 and two days later plowed a neighbor's cornfield. His potatoes were planted June 1. These dates are about right according to present custom. On the other hand, he plowed David Hunt's garden for him as early as April 17. He usually did his haying in the middle of July but stacked his hay as late as August 17. He sold what must have been a second crop of clover hay in October. When he sold seed potatoes, the price was 50 cents a bushel, but seed peas were worth $1 a bushel. There are no comments on the weather in the book, which was a bit disappointing, but there was no real reason why Stearns should have appended any of his ideas about the season in a book devoted to business.

XI. Frame House and a Son-in-Law

AFTER living in a log house for more than forty years William Stearns decided, probably in the winter of 1832, that in the spring he would capitalize his limited success and have built for himself and family a frame building. This decision proved in every way momentous. Stearns, although handy with tools, was not equal to the task of constructing a modern habitation, and accordingly he engaged my grandfather, John Anderson, who as a lad ten years old had come to Highgate from Scotland in 1818, to build the new home. One of the developments from this contract was the speedy engagement of John Anderson to the only grown daughter in the Stearns family, Anna Maria. It was one of those cases of love at first sight on both sides. She was eighteen and he was twenty-five.

His father, William Anderson, had been a linen manufacturer in

Dundee, Scotland, and had seen his business ruined by the Napoleonic wars, and by economic changes in the weaving craft. In despair over the prospects of ever making any kind of a recovery, he sold the little of his business that remained and leaving his wife and several children but taking the son John he sailed for America. He had salvaged from the wreck of his home and affairs a valuable grandfather clock, which he brought with him. Arriving in Quebec, very nearly broke, he most regretfully sold the timepiece for $50 and soon made his way to Highgate, swearing by all that was holy that he never again would be found in any part of the world where the English had a foothold. In time he got ahead, bought five acres of land from Heman Allen, nephew of Ira, and made a home so that his wife and children might join him. Not being used to pioneer hardships, he literally wore himself out with toil, and died in 1841. He had some literary gifts and wrote verses.

Work upon the Stearns frame house began in April, 1833, and was not finished until November when the plastering was done. This latter job cost only $2.75—how astonishingly inexpensive that seems—the work being done by John Winters. My grandfather had agreed to build the house from materials furnished by Stearns for a contract price of $128.50. There was a general plan and a stipulation that there should be "eight windows." As the work progressed, partial payments were made, sometimes in cash if the sum was small, but usually by following the prevailing trade procedure. Thus Stearns turned in a two-year-old colt as part payment, the value being considered $50. A sizable credit item was an order on the store of S. W. & S. S. Keyes for $75.75. Two notes, aggregating nine dollars, made by William Teachout, were accepted as cash, although Stearns records in his book that the sum represents the cost of 18 pounds of wool that Teachout had from him. Small credit items that went to pay for the work were these: a half pound of tea, 32 cents; a pound of spice, 20 cents; a bushel and a half of rye, for $1.20; and two pounds of wool for $1.00.

Evidently the Stearns family changed its mind about the number of windows and cut the total from eight to six. This, viewed at this distance, seems like a mistake, but who can say? When all the conversation about this item was concluded, Stearns wrote in the book: "Reduction for two winders that want made, $3." That settled the vexatious problem. Probably the cold north winds were the deciding factor. I doubt if the small economy that was accomplished had any-

thing to do with the final decision, but it may have been the motive. After all, $3 is $3, whether in 1833 (when it was perhaps nearer our $10) or now when (sometimes) it will pay your poll tax.

My grandfather, John Anderson, had been bound out as an apprentice in 1824 to William Cookman of St. Albans. The contract was signed March 12 in that year—to go into effect presently. He signed up to become a carpenter and joiner. Because those early indentures are somewhat rare and as it probably is a good example of the style of document issued at that time in Vermont, I deem it worth printing. This contract, given herewith, was for a five-year period. It was most faithfully observed both by Cookman and my grandfather. This instrument does not disclose whether the contract was signed in Highgate or in St. Albans. As the indenture prevented my grandfather from marrying during the five-year term, it is no surprise that not long after he had got started "on his own," he followed the beckoning finger of Cupid which led him to the Stearns home.

The indenture,[14] with an exact duplication for the spelling, is here reproduced:

This Indentur witnessith that I William Anderson of Highgate in the County of franklin State of Vermont hath put and placed and by this presant doth put and bind out his Son John Anderson as an apprintis to William Cookman of St Albans State and County aforesade to learn the arts of Carpinter and joiner the Sade John Anderson after the manner of an apprentis to Dwell with and serv the Sade William Cookman from the first of May next untill the first of May one thousand eight hundred and twenty nine At wich time the Sade apprintis if he should be living he will be at Liberty he shall comit no Matremoney Contract during the Sade time tavins or Houses of gaming he Shall not frequent but atent to the Buisness of his Marster and the Sade William Cookman on his part Doth hearby promis on his partickler Contract and agre to titch the Sade apprintis or Cose him to be tought in the Buisness aforesade and allso to Send the Sade apprintis to Scool which is tought by an able instructer At Least Sevin Months and a half and Shall well and faithfulley find and provide for the Sade Apprintis good and Sufficient foode and good lodgins and all the other nesseserers Sutable for Sutch an Apprintice in Sicknes and in helth providing a physition if Neaded and do All for him which a legal In-

14. The original indenture is owned by the writer.

dentur in the State of Vermont washing and mending including and the Sade appentis Shall have wagis yearly to find Clothes for the first year forty Dollers and rise ten Dollers Eich year the pay Shall be Cattle or Grane and Store Pay and the Sade William Cookman agrees to pay up All arerirregis by the first of May in Eitch year of his Aprintiship in Testemoney whareof the Sade parties have hear unto interchangably Set thear hands and Seel this Twelfth Day of March one Thousand Eight hundred and Twenty four Signed Sealed and Deliverd

In presents of	*William Anderson (seal)*
James Dodge Jr.	*John Anderson (seal)*
Rufus Bixby	*William Cookman (seal)*

From start to finish there is no punctuation whatever. The place at which the contract is signed is not indicated, but I am inclined to think that it was written in St. Albans and composed by a Justice of the Peace who had a smattering of the law.

This contract was carried out and my grandfather became a very capable carpenter and builder. I have heard him say that he always tried to have at least one left-handed man on jobs with him, because a "leftie" was able to nail in spots that could not conveniently be reached by a right-handed man. A left-handed man, he said, was especially useful when stairs were being built.

The indenture is another bit of evidence of the lack of cash, in Franklin County, seen in the provision that John Anderson is to be paid in "cattle or Grane and Store Pay," the last item meaning that Cookman might give him an order on a store for the amount due. Until we read such items, we never realize how much convenience a check (one that does not "bounce") gives to the present generation.

With the house completed comfort seemed assured, but Fate is inexorable and we have to record that William Stearns died either early in 1835 or in the last part of 1834—probably the latter. On February 3, 1835, in the Franklin County Probate Court at St. Albans, petition was filed for the appointment of an administrator. Strangely enough, this was not followed by any action either by the heirs or by the court, and it was not until May 10, 1869, that the estate was actually divided. The cause of this long delay is entirely a mystery. I suppose the widow and the children, three of whom were grown up, and the other three small, continued to live on the farm and as long as the taxes were paid, no pressure for a distribution was felt. Like

many another country estate, it was just allowed to lie neglected for thirty-five years so far as the interests of the heirs were concerned.

In the distribution in 1869,[15] it would appear that the widow Sarah Stearns and her son, Eldad B. Stearns, were the administrators. The six children, Eldad B. Stearns, William P. Stearns, Albert Stearns, Anna Maria Anderson, Harriet Church, and Lucy Stickney were each given one sixth of a tract of about twenty-seven acres, a part of the farm, valued as a whole at $1,080. Thus each got land worth about $180. The widow probably got her dower third of the estate, which would seem to be the farmhouse and about thirteen acres of land, but the decree is loosely drawn, and it is hard to discover what she did get. What that farm might have been worth in 1834 when he died is problematical. I should say the farm in 1834 was worth considerably less than in 1869. So when William Stearns died, he had accumulated only a modest estate to show for his unremitting labor lasting, say, from 1815 to 1834. Highgate was no town in which a working farmer could acquire any sudden wealth. Stearns could make with his own hands any number of chairs and sell them at 75 cents apiece, but apparently his thrift enabled him only to break a little better than even. It must have been some satisfaction to the hard-working pioneer to have built that frame house, which he was able to occupy about a year before death claimed him. One of the stories I have heard of his passing is that he died of "lung fever." That is the old-fashioned description of pneumonia.

Sometimes it is said of a man who is removed from life just when everything begins to show a favorable aspect, that "when he thinks his greatness is aspiring, he falls like autumn leaves to enrich mother earth." That applies to the case of William Stearns.

15. I am indebted to my sister-in-law, Harriet Safford Dutcher of St. Albans, for an examination of the probate records on the Stearns' estate, and to valuable information about Highgate and the Saxes.

THE HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY AND ITS PROGRESS IN VERMONT

By Merrill C. Perry

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Our casual American method of interpreting the importance of achievements and undertakings of our day by the space given in the newspaper headlines or the tub-thumping of conspicuous leaders often leads us to overlook the fact that underneath the commotion constructive work of far-reaching import goes steadily on—and we hasten to add, in fairness, that our best newspapers do reflect such work even if not on the front pages. Vermont newspapers, we believe, have given just attention to the work of the Historical Records Survey, but we have found so much confusion extant as to the objectives, field, methods, and personnel of the Survey that we asked Mr. Perry to prepare this paper. We hope that its information will serve many groups of our readers, both those of the present and the future. Editor.

PERHAPS when this article is printed, the Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration will be a thing of the past; there is some question as to whether any federally sponsored W.P.A. project will be continued after July or August thirty-first. It may be that I am too much of an optimist or that my sincere desire overshadows my judgment. I am convinced that the work of the Survey will be continued, and we on the Vermont staff are going ahead with the aims of the Survey with the same enthusiasm as if our continued operation had been assured by an Act of Congress.

The inventories, guides, check lists, calendars, and other research tools which are being prepared by the Historical Records Survey, are making available to the realm of scholarship a vast quantity of public records and other source materials relating to American history. Since its inception in February, 1936, the Survey in Vermont has found its task made easier and its efforts facilitated by the close cooperation accorded to it by the Vermont Historical Society and later also by the Public Records Commission, present sponsor of the project.

I do not believe that the Survey met with a warmer reception or experienced a richer development anywhere in the Country than it has in New England. There is a stronger consciousness of our history here than in any other section, and, consequently, there has been a quick grasp of the purpose and value of the Survey's publications. Some of its finest research products have been issued in this region, which has likewise been the proving ground for many ventures along experimental lines.

The survey in Vermont early maintained a close kinship with the state through the Historical Commission provided for by Joint Resolution 306 in March, 1935. The aid of the Survey was enlisted by this commission of five members which was empowered by law "to make a survey of the early records of the counties, towns, and villages of the state . . . to inspect all such records, to make copies wherever deemed necessary or desirable, and to advise the proper local authorities what measures are necessary to insure the protection of any records against damage by fire, flood, careless handling or other causes, and against loss of theft." The commission was further given authority "to seek and enlist the coöperation and financial support of any agency of the Federal government which has for one of its purposes the recording and preservation of historical records, including the photostating or forms of copying thereof." As a result of this resolution Survey workers became agents of the commission.

Directed nationally by Dr. Luther H. Evans, the Historical Records Survey's purpose has been to provide unemployed professional and clerical workers with useful occupation to tide them over until the time when they are absorbed by private industry and cease to become the responsibility of the public. The 7,100 workers engaged on the Survey at the present time include teachers, researchers, librarians, historians, and similar professionals, as well as clerks, typists, stenographers, and others. The availability of these workers and the creation of the Historical Records Survey made possible on a uniform national basis a mass attack on the problem of encouraging the preservation of the Country's historical source materials and making them more accessible for purposes of research to scholars, government officials, and the general public.

The first and major objective of the Survey has been to make and publish inventories of the public archives of the forty-eight states, the 3,066 counties, and the cities, townships, villages, and special districts of our Country.

In accordance with the national program the first objective of the Survey in Vermont, under the direction of John Clement, State Director prior to February, 1938, was to make and publish inventories of all the governmental units in the state. These include all the archives of the 246 towns and cities, the archives of the 67 villages, the archives of the 20 probate districts, the archives of the 14 counties, and the archives of the state.

Unlike the Survey nationally the concentration of the Survey in Vermont and the other New England states has been upon the production of inventories of towns and villages rather than county archives. The form of local government to which we are accustomed is relatively little known to the Country at large. Elsewhere in the United States the majority of local records are centered in the county, and the primary emphasis of the Historical Records Survey has been given to county archives' inventories. In New England, however, the town is the basic unit of local government. Hence, most of the records elsewhere maintained in county offices are here found in the towns. It is for this reason that the National Director of the Survey has made an exception in the case of New England and has allowed us to direct our attention first to the completion of inventories of town records.

With the exception of supervisory personnel, the work of the Survey had to be done by people certified as eligible to receive employment on the public works program. None of these people employed on the Vermont Survey was trained for this type of work, and very few of them had any experience in working with public records. To have given these people instructions in writing inventories of public records and then send them to the towns to prepare inventories of the local archives, would have been mere folly; a simple plan by which individuals could be trained in certain steps of the work had to be formulated. A form was prepared for the use of field workers who would do the initial research work. These forms consisted of a set of questions to be answered by the field workers and a separate form was to be used for each volume, file, bundle or box of records. These answers would show the exact titles of the volumes, their numbering or lettering, description of contents, binding, indexing, arrangement of contents, nature of recording, condition and all of the information shown in the published inventories. This plan of procedure was outlined by the national office for use in all the states.

When these forms were sent to the state office by the field workers,

they were reviewed and carefully checked to see that all questions were answered and that the answers seemed both adequate and accurate. If necessary, forms were returned until they were satisfactorily corrected. When a set of forms was completed, they were turned over to an inventory editor, who wrote from them a descriptive inventory of all the archives of the local government units. These inventories were prepared according to an arrangement of offices and records prepared for the different governmental units and general instructions received from the Washington office.

In the course of preparing these first inventories, it was found necessary to do a considerable amount of historical and legal research before the inventories could be considered adequate for publication. Separate departments were established to do the necessary research. Historical research was done for each town, a field worker went through all the town records and took notes with citations on facts of historical interest of importance. The field notes were combined with information gathered from the archives of the Secretary of State, manuscript at the Vermont and other historical societies and secondary sources. These are used by the editors in the state office to prepare short historical sketches of each town. Villages and cities are similarly covered, and we expect to cover the probate districts, counties and the State Departments in the same way.

Whereas historical research could be done on each of the individual towns, one at a time, legal research presented an entirely different problem. To do a thorough job of unquestioned value, every constitution and statute, including the revisions, had to be read and essential information taken. Rather than read these laws again and again, we undertook to read them only once and secure all the information necessary for descriptive record inventories or histories of the state and all of its departments and political subdivisions. We started with the first constitution and the laws of 1779 and abstracted on cards information pertaining to each office, department or political unit and so arranged and indexed them that when the work is completed, we will have assembled all the statutory or constitutional law pertaining to each phase of our work.

The Survey by June 30 had published inventories for 228 counties throughout the Country and for 27 towns in New England. These were represented by 239 volumes totaling 28,306 mimeographed or printed pages (this is exclusive of volumes dealing with Federal Archives). In the past it has been the policy of the Survey in New

England to include the records of two or more towns within a county in one volume. Experience showed that this procedure retarded production. Accordingly, the State Directors have been authorized to publish inventories for individual towns upon their completion.

By June 30 of this year the Survey had published for the town, village, and city archives series of Vermont, three volumes totaling 367 mimeographed pages and containing the records of the following 10 towns and villages: Alburg, Grand Isle, Isle La Motte, North Hero, Two Heroes, and Alburg Village, all located in Grand Isle County: Bolton, in Chittenden County; and Stowe and Stowe Village, in Lamoille County. In addition, approval for publication has been given to archives inventories for the towns of Charlotte, Colchester, Sterling, Waterville, and Wolcott, Vermont, and will probably be issued before October, 1939. Inventories of towns in other counties will appear before 1940.

The local archives volumes of the Historical Records Survey, when completed, will constitute a veritable encyclopedia of local government as well as an inventory of public records. The inventory of the archives of Bolton, Vermont, for example, contains entries for all the records kept by town officers, current and non-current. An annotated historical sketch is also included which briefly covers the high lights of the town's past from June 7, 1763, when the town was chartered by Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, and carries the account of the present date.

The inventory reveals that in practice the Vermont town clerk has always acted, since the creation of the state in 1777, in the capacity of town archivist. Therefore, a large quantity of the non-current records, both of his own office and of other offices, is to be found in his charge. Within the inventory, records have been placed under the office of origin rather than under the office of custody, but all entries reveal the exact location where they may be found. The history of each of the 27 town offices of Bolton is described in brief essays which precede the listing of their records.

The duties of the town officers are established by state law and do not vary from town to town. Eventually, from the material being assembled by the legal research workers, the various duties which have, at one time or another, been assigned to town officers, will be listed and published in a separate volume.

The housing, care, and accessibility of the records are likewise discussed briefly. The volume further contains a map of Bolton, as

originally chartered; another showing boundary changes of Bolton between 1763 and 1939; and a third map of the town of Bolton as it appears in 1939.

A valuable chart of town government is included which shows the various town offices, the term of office of officials, and the source of their authority.

The records themselves tell the story of the day-to-day political, economic, and social lives of the local inhabitants, for they relate to vital statistics, court proceedings, health, education, local finance, elections, public welfare, and all other phases of town government. Hence, the inventories make available a rich mine of historical source materials. Historical researchers have accorded an enthusiastic welcome to the volumes thus far published, for through them they have learned for the first time of archival materials, hitherto unknown or inaccessible, pertaining to a host of historical subjects.

Many of the records listed by the Survey have especial historical significance because of their antiquity. For example, one entry in the Bolton volume relates to the original document of the town charter of 1763 which contains the signatures of Governor Wentworth, his secretary, and the certification of recording by Ira Allen in the State's First Book of Charters of New Hampshire Grants. In the inventory for Stowe Town and Village there are entries relating to the minutes of the proprietors' meetings dating from 1770. Another entry in this volume deals with vital statistics since 1792.

Each entry gives the exact title and inclusive dates of a series of records, contains a brief description of their contents, and reveals their physical appearance and condition, their exact location, and contains cross references to any related records.

In the course of their work members of the Survey staff have cleaned, repaired, arranged, and indexed town records in Vermont and have done much to further the spread of doctrines of archival economy among town officials charged with the responsibility of record-keeping. Where gaps in series of records were noticed, Survey workers have made these known. The report of the commission to the State Legislature made on September 1, 1936, on the early records of Vermont reveals that archival practice in the state has been in some cases exceedingly careless, largely due to ignorance of archival officials as to their proper duties. The commission reported that twenty to twenty-five per cent of the important records of towns were incomplete. They revealed that of the 134 towns visited by

them, the records of 30 were kept in publicly-owned buildings, and the records of the remaining 104 were located in private dwellings, stores, shops, garages, banks, and barns. Not more than three depositories were found to be fire-proof, and many were considered highly inflammable. The Historical Records Survey has tended to stimulate awareness of the value and historical significance of their records on the part of custodians of records, and improvements in their care and preservation must be counted among the tangible results of the Survey, equally with its published books.

The following comment upon the inventory for the towns of Grand Isle County which appeared in an editorial in the *Rutland Herald* on April 18, 1939, is typical of the favorable comment on Survey inventories throughout the country: "To town officers, present and future, this inventory will be a godsend. They will know what they have, and what should be handed over to successors. They will know what they lack, and should attempt to locate. Persons interested in research, legal or genealogical, historical or sociological, will know something about the materials they are searching for, and exactly where to find them. Nothing of this sort has ever been done, previously, in any country . . . the volumes in this tremendous nationwide series will be used and valued long after the W.P.A. has passed into history. It is likely to result in a new and much more accurate history than has ever been possible before."

The only Historical Survey publication for State Archives is a title list with dates and quantities issued by the Oklahoma project. The actual listing of State Archives, although it has made good progress elsewhere in New England, has not been started in Vermont.

The inventory of the Federal archives in the states was undertaken by a separate Federal project of the Works Progress Administration under the sponsorship of The National Archives from January, 1936, to June 30, 1937, and directed by Dr. Philip N. Hamer of its staff. Upon discontinuance of the project on the latter date the work was placed under the direction of Dr. Evans, and the Survey has been bringing it to rapid completion in states where this remained to be done and in which local projects had not been organized for the specific purpose. With Dr. Hamer as associate director and with an editorial staff in Washington which is part of the Historical Records Survey this work should be concluded shortly. The Federal Archives Project in Vermont is operated separately from the Historical Records Survey, but Dr. Evans states that the editorial pro-

cedure employed in the Federal archives volumes is simpler than that utilized for Historical Records Survey inventories and consequently progress is considerably more rapid.

By June 30, there had been published 188 volumes totaling 15,986 mimeographed pages in the Survey of Federal Archives series, and 16 volumes totaling 1,470 pages has been approved for publication. In addition, inventories had been prepared in typed form for the Post Office Department in 17 States, totaling 10,476 pages. These have been placed in a few reference centers.

Three Federal archives volumes had been mimeographed by the Vermont Survey by June 30. These cover the Federal Departments of War, Navy, and Justice. The entries in these volumes are similar to those in the archives inventories of the Historical Records Survey. Entries are listed under office of issuance and all offices are listed under the cities or towns where they are located. For example, in the War Department volume the records for Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont, are listed under the following offices: Commander's Office, Finance Office, Post Headquarters; Civilian Conservation Corps, District Headquarters; Station Hospital, and Post Quartermaster's Office. In this 111-page volume there are contained many records of importance to historians and legal researchers. For instance, entries relate to the Citizen's Military Training Corps directories and rosters, correspondence of soldiers, War Department activity upon occasion of floods, outlines and maps of maneuvers, post orders, court-martial orders, and health and sanitation reports.

In the Justice Department volume entries refer to complaints, court cases, tax evasion reports, photographs of criminals, fingerprints, accounts, and other items.

The Navy Department volume contains entries pertaining to lists of applicants, correspondence, weekly reports, and disbursement of funds.

The Survey operated on a personnel quota averaging about 35 people until July 1, 1938. I do not know why we were allowed to materially increase our employment at that time, but those of us on the project like to think that it was because we were demonstrating our ability to do a good job. Historians, educators and people interested in history or government, who had inspected our work, were positive in their praise of the work we were doing. Historical magazines, newspaper editorials, and other favorable publicity undoubtedly helped bring about the July increase in quota. From January to

May of 1938 only 30 people were employed on the Vermont project. During June, 10 more were allowed; as of July 1 the quota of 100, which we have at the present time, was allotted.

At the time of the quota increase, the town inventories were well under way, but publications were being held pending historical and legal research. There was an opportunity to do other lines of research, which we had previously dreamed of doing at a much later date. Immediately after July 1, our program began to broaden into the field of imprints, church records and manuscripts.

Our first extra undertaking was a survey of American imprints in Vermont. We listed books, pamphlets and broadsides printed within the present limits of the 48 states and the District of Columbia, prior to January 1, 1877 (in Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming, prior to January 1, 1891, as printing started relatively late in these states). A similar listing for the period subsequent to these dates has been currently maintained by the Library of Congress. As in nearly all branches of our work, a simple plan of doing this imprint work with relatively unskilled labor was devised and instructions issued from the Washington office. In this case, slips were provided for field workers to copy from the card catalogs in each library in the State, each card representing an imprint within our date limits. These slips are typed and sent to the central inventory office in Chicago where the slips are separated and assorted by states. Eventually, we will have a list of all the imprints for each state to be found anywhere in the United States prior to the above dates.

The approximately 1,200 workers assigned to the American Imprints Inventory have been pouring a flood of title slips into the Chicago office at a rate of approximately 60,000 slips per week. By the end of June nearly 2,000,000 title slips had been received and considerably more than 600,000 imprints earlier than 1877 had been recorded. The Vermont Survey contributed nearly 40,000 of these titles.

The number of imprints for which only one location is known is surprisingly large, and indicates that the imprints program is making a consequential contribution to the source materials for American History. Heretofore, only a tithe of the outpouring of American printing presses have found their way into even the largest of the Country's libraries. Historians have not known where to look for much printed material and have not had a clear idea of the printed

materials in existence. The titles which the American Imprints Inventory is contributing to the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress and the progressive bibliographies which are being issued will go far towards remedying that situation.

Some of the rarest imprints titles secured by Survey workers were obtained in the library of the Sheldon Art Museum, Middlebury, Vermont. For example, this library contains a copy of Noah Webster's spelling book not included in any other known lists of Vermont imprints.

Five imprints inventories had been published by the Historical Records Survey by June 30. These volumes, which total 1,455 mimeographed pages, cover various date periods prior to 1890 for the states of Missouri, Minnesota, Arizona, and Kentucky, and for the city of Chicago. Lists for Ohio, Nevada, Kansas, and Oregon were in the process of publication by the end of June. The imprints field work in Vermont is complete in all except two depositories where we are now working and nearing completion.

The American Imprints Inventory program has been hailed by historians, librarians, and scholars throughout the country. The director of the Harvard Library, Keyes D. Metcalf, has stated: "If the work can be completed, it will be a landmark in the bibliographical records of the country." Dr. R. G. W. Vail, of the American Antiquarian Society, has remarked that "No single scholarly enterprise of this nature has ever been attempted in this country which could compare with the American Imprints Inventory in its broad value to American scholarship."

What has proved one of the most interesting new projects we stated last year was an index to the file of the *Burlington Free Press* at the University of Vermont. The Survey has attempted several newspaper indexes throughout the Country. The Massachusetts project has issued one volume entitled *Index to Local News in the Hampshire Gazette* of Northampton, Massachusetts, for the years 1786 and 1937. This 295-page mimeographed volume is an alphabetical list of persons, each followed by a brief statement of the context in which the name appeared in the *Hampshire Gazette* and the date found therein. A typical item reads thus: John H. Closson, obituary, July 5, 1927. Historians will be especially interested in the items pertaining to Calvin Coolidge, who maintained his residence in Northampton. The first item under his name refers to his taking

a position in the law office of Hammond and Field, and is dated September 17, 1895.

There is a scarcity of printed reference material on Vermont history covering the past three-quarters of a century, and from these issues of the *Burlington Free Press* much historical information is being made readily available; vital statistics are being abstracted on cards and will be turned over to the Secretary of State to supplement present records. We started indexing the 1848 issues and are now working on the papers of 1867. The index will be published in volumes of convenient size; the first volume will cover the years 1848-52, and final copy has been submitted to Washington. In this index items are listed under their general subject heading. For example, under the heading "Agriculture" there are listed news items for the year 1849 dealing with cultivation of beans, improvement of soil, extracts from a letter of a Californian discussing the agriculture of his state. The date of the issue of the newspaper in which the article is included is given as well as the page and column. We are able to undertake this project only with the financial and technical assistance of the University of Vermont. President Bailey of the University appointed a committee of five from his staff, with Prof. Leon W. Dean, chairman, to assist with the technical problems of the index. The financial and technical assistance given this project by the University of Vermont has been indispensable.

The church archives program of the Historical Records Survey was undertaken to supplement existing knowledge concerning the records of organized religion in the United States. There are approximately 700 workers engaged in this phase of the work. The Vermont church records unit, which was started on a state-wide basis in October, 1938, and maintains between 20 and 30 workers, is supervised by the Reverend Samuel Bean, a Baptist clergyman who was formerly pastor of the United Church in Lincoln, Vermont.

There are approximately 250,000 churches and other units of a religious character in this Country. By June 30, historical data had been listed and secured for approximately 64,000 units, or one-fourth of the total, and 12 church records inventories and directories totaling 1,295 mimeographed pages had been published. A preprint of the churches of Hinesburg, Vermont, for the years 1789 and 1939, has been issued. At the present time the Survey is concentrating upon an inventory of Episcopal churches for the Diocese of Vermont; all

except two or three churches have already been covered. A directory of Vermont Churches and Clergy is being prepared.

In addition to the individual churches the workers likewise survey central depositories such as colleges, which often contain considerable church material. Frequently, Survey workers find that church archives pertaining to one community are located in another. Our nation-wide organization makes it possible to trace such archives even though they be located in another state. A check list, listing over 1700 active and defunct churches within the state, has been prepared and is used in assigning work to the various field groups. The plan of procedure followed by this group of employees was patterned after that of the Public Archives group. The work has been inspected and enthusiastically praised by many leading historians, genealogists and church leaders throughout the state. The Survey has been endorsed by nearly every state church organization in Vermont. Very important data is being discovered since church records contain information sometimes not obtainable from any other source. Often in records of membership the former and later residence of a member is shown; this information is almost never shown in any public record. Vital statistics were sometimes recorded in the church records that were not recorded in town clerks' offices or with the Secretary of State.

The general plan of the nation-wide church archives program has been to prepare state-wide denomination inventories of church archives with the entries arranged chronologically by the date of the establishment of each unit within the denomination, including those units which have become defunct. In Vermont, however, the fact that rural sections have a declining population means that many churches have become weak and have been forced to form either temporary or permanent federations with other churches. The records of these churches are often mingled with each other. It may, therefore, be necessary in Vermont to make some departures from the general plan of publishing inventories by denominations.

The Vermont church archives inventories will be based upon the preliminary publication issued for Hinesburg. This preprint contains sample entries for the United Universalist Societies of Monkton, Hinesburg, and Charlotte, organized in 1799; the Baptist Church, 1810; the Free Will Baptist Church, 1817; the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1831; and the Christian Adventist Church, 1874. The Free Will Baptist Church had become defunct in 1874, the Universalist Society in 1890; and the Christian Adventist Society in 1892.

In 1919, the remaining churches joined in the formation of the United Church. An annotated historical introduction covers the general history of religious worship in Hinesburg. Preceding the records listed for each church there is an account of its history which includes the name and term of service of its first minister, describes the buildings in which services have been held, and any significant information pertaining to the records which have been kept by the religious unit. The records themselves are of extreme historical interest, for from these original source materials there can be constructed the history of worship in the community of Hinesburg. For example, some of the entries listed relate to records of baptisms, marriages, church deeds, church membership, treasurers' reports, Sunday School reports, and minutes of meetings of church societies. The entries of the Hinesburg volume have been treated with considerable more detail than those customarily issued by the Survey. Much like the entries for the town archives inventories, they contain a descriptive breakdown of the materials within the entry. From our studies to date it appears that the oldest congregation in Vermont was that of a Catholic church, organized about 1731 in what is now known as Alburgh. The Old Bennington Congregational Church, in Old Bennington, Vermont, claims to be the oldest Protestant church in the state. Organized in 1762, this institution is still in existence today.

Another phase of the Survey's program lies in the field of manuscripts. As of June 30 the Survey had published nine volumes dealing with manuscript material other than public records and the archives of individual churches. Three types of publications are being prepared by this division. These are called respectively, (1) *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in Particular States;* (2) *Guides to Manuscript Collections;* and (3) *Calendars and Inventories of Manuscript Collections in the United States.*

One volume, titled *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States,* containing one hundred entries, has been prepared to illustrate the treatment of the first phase of the program. There will be included in this national series of guides the important libraries, historical societies, or other depositories possessing collections of manuscripts. By means of questionnaires information has been compiled for more than 1,000 depositories; such questionnaires have been filled out for all the larger Vermont depositories. The description of the collections of the Vermont Historical Society is included in

the published guide cited above as the sample to illustrate the treatment for Vermont depositories. The account of the Society includes the location of the depository, the name of the custodian, times of admission, the history and purpose of the society, and the extent and nature of its manuscript holdings. A list of published references relating to the Society is likewise included.

The manuscript collection guides, the second type of product in preparation, are in progress in a number of states. Within these volumes brief entries will appear for each important collection within each depository. By June 30, questionnaires had been filled out for more than 5,000 manuscript collections.

The third type of product in preparation by the manuscript division is exemplified by the calendar of Ira Allen Papers, which is reaching completion in Vermont and will be distributed within the near future. Approximately one thousand manuscripts and manuscript photostats were left to the University of Vermont by James B. Wilbur, who collected Ira Allen documents from all over the world, and the Survey has discovered about 50 additional items. It is anticipated that a calendar of the James Whitelaw Papers owned by the Vermont Historical Society and the Henry Stevens Papers owned by the University of Vermont will be calendared and published following the Ira Allen Papers.

Considerable progress has likewise been made on a catalogue of some thirty or forty thousand manuscripts in the Sheldon Art Museum, in Middlebury. In connection with a local W.P.A. project we have thus far filed, catalogued, and calendared a few thousand letters, a number of which were from early Ohio settlers telling of the wonderful opportunities awaiting pioneers in that state.

Allied to the manuscript program much work has been done towards the preparation of a volume which will serve as a guide and digest of the materials representing the information gathered between 1925 and 1936 by the Eugenics Survey of Vermont and the Vermont Commission on Country Life. The data has been kept at the Fleming Museum of the University of Vermont, sponsor of the Eugenics Survey which was begun because of the lack of specific information concerning Vermont people and the operation of the laws of heredity in the state. Sixty-two families comprising 4,600 individuals were studied in connection with this survey. Three books have already resulted from the source materials furnished by these studies. One volume, *Rural Vermont: by Two Hundred Vermonters*, embodies the findings

and recommendations of the Vermont Commission on Country Life, an outgrowth of the Eugenics Survey. *We Americans*, the product of a study of racial blending and cleavage in Burlington, by Miss Elin Anderson, received the John Anisfield 1937 award of $1,000 for being the best book of the year in its field. The director of the Eugenics Survey, Dr. Harry F. Perkins of the University of Vermont, wrote the book, *101 Vermont Families*, which tells of the heredity of a number of families studied and analyzed.

From the Country as a whole the Survey has been preparing an annotated bibliography covering the entire field of American history, similar to but far wider in scope than the famous Larned work of 1902. This is a continuation of work begun in the early days of the relief program by the New York Public Library. By the end of June approximately 55,000 reviews, covering about 20,500 titles in the field of American history were ready for final checking. This bibliography will be published within the next year, and it is planned to keep it up to date. Historians throughout the Country have been eagerly awaiting the publication of this bibliography, for it will represent one of the principal research tools which may be consulted regarding secondary source materials arranged by subject matter for the study of American history.

In addition to the major undertakings of the Survey which have been described, an index of American portraits is being prepared, and two volumes in this series have been issued in Massachusetts. Data has been collected for the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress, cemetery records have been listed in a few states, bibliographies of various kinds are being prepared, special indexes to vital statistics and other records have been compiled in a few instances, and a variety of other miscellaneous tasks have been in progress.

From time to time as opportunity and circumstances permitted small special research tasks have been carried out by the Vermont Survey for public officials and institutions. About 3,000 typed pages of historical and genealogical material pertaining to the town of Poultney have been assembled and indexed. A series of maps showing the evolution of Vermont counties is nearly completed; many special tasks too numerous to mention, but nonetheless of historical value, have been performed by workers on the Survey.

The work has been interesting and necessarily instructive to all of us on the project. Every day brings in new historical information on some question for which we attempt to find the answer. Occasion-

ally, like any organization, we have had discouragements and things unpleasant have happened. Public officials and custodians of records have almost universally welcomed us and given us coöperation, even though this has sometimes been a burden to them. I have received some very fine letters complimenting field workers on the work they did in various departments and only a few adverse reports.

The workers employed on the projects are usually reliable, intelligent, and qualified to carry out the work assigned; the employment of those who prove otherwise is terminated. A number of the people are college graduates, and some have done graduate work. I do not know of anyone on the project, typists included, who has less than a high school education. Most of the people employed (at one time or another nearly 400 different people have been employed on the project) are conscientious and diligently work the hours for which they are paid even though they are working in the field without continuous supervision and at a comparatively low wage scale. Most of them become interested in their work and the program of the Survey. Several who have resigned to take private employment have asked permission to finish in spare time at their own expense the individual research work they have been doing. They have taken pride in their work and wish to see it through to completion.

It is a policy that people in charge of various projects produce generally useful work and see that the workers retain or improve their skill. As to the usefulness of our work each citizen may judge for himself. I am sure that every worker employed on the project has had an opportunity to increase his general knowledge and make himself more valuable in private enterprise. Most of the people employed on the project become aware of the functions of historians, librarians and public officials, and the necessity of collecting and preserving archives and reference materials.

The Historical Records Survey is indebted for financial or technical assistance to the State of Vermont, the Vermont Historical Society, the University of Vermont, and Middlebury College. Among individuals who have kindly inspected and constructively criticized our work are Harold G. Rugg, John Spargo, Leon W. Dean, Arthur W. Peach, Charles E. Tuttle, Mrs. James Donahue, Harry F. Perkins, librarians and public officials throughout the state.

When I took over the directorship of this project in February, 1938, I had an efficient and well-trained group of people to work with. Officials and the public were in a general way aware of the

work we were doing and approved. Whatever success the project may attain under my direction is largely due to the excellent work done by John Clement, the former director, in training personnel and securing the public's interest and coöperation in the project. With Mr. Clement's resignation, his interest in the project did not cease, and he has generously assisted in carrying out the program which he himself inaugurated.

The State Administrator of the W.P.A., Harry W. Witters, and his successors, Samuel H. Crosby and H. N. Baker, and the successive directors of the Division of Women's and Professional Projects now known as the Professional and Service Division, Miss Mary Jean Simpson and Mrs. Lois G. Greer, have generously given aid to the project.

Dr. Evans, the National Director of this project, is administratively responsible for the technical direction of the project. Each part of the Vermont program was outlined and approved by him before work was commenced. Sargent B. Child, a native Vermonter, is Regional Director of the Survey. Besides myself, the supervisory staff of the Vermont project consists of Katharine Shaw and Gerald Pryor on town records; Joseph Foti, legal research; Rev. Samuel N. Bean, church records; Joseph Stearns, newspaper indexing. Frank Bryan has had charge of town histories and Harriet Daigneault, my secretary, has been responsible for many of the minor details in the administration of the project.

VERMONT IN THE MAKING
A REVIEW

By John Clement

We believe this statement, taken from an announcement by the Harvard University Press, is true—"Mr. Jones from his study of the original sources has reached conclusions that differ widely from many long-accepted opinions and has written a book of first importance to everyone interested in New England history." The "conclusions" will be examined in these pages by contributors competent to discuss them. In the meantime we trust our readers will become acquainted with the volume under review. Editor.

Vermont in the Making 1750-1777. By Matt B. Jones. xiv-471 pp. Harvard University Press. Cambridge. 1939. $4.00.

Among all the books which have dealt at any length with the history of the controversy over the New Hampshire Grants, this volume at once takes front rank, and becomes entirely essential to all who wish to understand the fascinating phase of Vermont history which it covers. For twenty years the author has gathered information, explored records never before applied to the question, pursued missing documents, and traced the actions of men. Thus he has been able to re-examine the earlier accounts of the controversy, testing the statements of the actors on the scene in 1750-1777, and appraising the estimates of the numerous historians who have written of it. The result is a highly readable, kindly, and delightful book, scholarly indeed, but never pedantic. The sympathy shown for human shortcomings, and the occasional touches of quiet humor furnish welcome relief from the heated polemics of some earlier writers.

Some of us may be disappointed that all the documents cited, and especially the new items, could not have been published in the volume; but to do so would have been impossible, in a volume of this size, so soundly printed for easy reading. Mr. Jones has informed me that his copies and photostats of material pertaining to Vermont will eventually be deposited with the Vermont Historical Society,

thus making it possible for future questioners to examine in full what he has summarized. A number of documents are published in full, as are certain tabulations of permanent value. There is a splendid bibliography, which reveals to this reviewer his extensive ignorance, and suggests to our libraries a great many necessary additions; and there is an inadequate index.

Mr. Jones, in his preface, points out that those who supported the claim of the validity of the New Hampshire grants resorted to the legal theory that the grants had been properly made. They admitted that if the grants had been faulty, the New York claim that they were void would have weight. Mr. Jones believes the grants were void, on the ground that New Hampshire never had jurisdiction at all, at any time; and as proof of this he quotes from the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Vermont–New Hampshire boundary case, decided May 29, 1933, 289 U. S. 593. The statements quoted are taken as invalidating for all time the legal theory which was put forward by the New Hampshire claimants. This assertion will startle some Vermonters; but it is good to be startled. It will interest us all to know that Mr. Jones started with the opposite idea, and found himself forced to this position by the evidence.

As a result, he thinks Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, never had the slightest authority to make grants west of Connecticut River, and all such grants were void from the start. The author shows that Wentworth behaved in an underhanded way; charged lower fees than were customary; violated his instructions from England flagrantly, and to his personal advantage; broke faith with the governors of New York; and lied in his reports to the British government. His grants were purchased by land speculators, who must have realized that they were worthless, but hoped to put them across, by hook or by crook, or dispose of them to the innocent. The grantees as a rule never intended to settle, although royal instructions required that they be ready to settle. They organized to make good their titles, and used as tools some of those who had actually settled.

Unable to get from the Crown a declaration that their titles were or had ever been valid, they resorted to force, and modeled their armed revolt, engineered by Ethan Allen and others, on the successful, but far more bloody armed revolt in western Massachusetts, which, not many years earlier, had won for Massachusetts the land

from the Connecticut to the line roughly twenty miles east of the Hudson.

The order of the King in Council of 1764, made on the basis of recommendations by no means favorable to Wentworth, declared, as we all know, the boundary of New York, north of Massachusetts, and south of Canada, "to be" the west banks of the Connecticut. It failed to say what it *had been*, and thus left the well-known opening for the New Hampshire claimants. No final determination of meaning was made authoritatively, because the American Revolution intervened. Mr. Jones finds many British assertions confirming his belief that New York's jurisdiction had been complete since the grant to the Duke of York in 1664. He considers such statements, as one that the tract had been "annexed" to New York by the order of 1764, to be erroneous.

My impression is that the British authorities, far away, paid relatively little attention to the situation, and in their expressions from time to time, varied: depending on their political views, and their sympathies of the moment, for the New England system or the New York system. Shelburne, for instance, was on the liberal side. Hillsborough, on the other hand, was a conservative.

Mr. Jones explores the signatures to the famous petition, of which most of the original is in the Vermont State Library, and finds that the names are chiefly those of speculators, not of settlers. This petition, to which much importance has been attached, was never submitted, probably, as he shows, because it could have been refuted by showing that the names were not those of settlers. He tells the story of the New York patents made by direct royal order, to military men, and of the confirmatory patents. He shows that Colden, the lieutenant-governor of New York, often the acting governor, and roundly condemned by the New Hampshire claimants, behaved with honor and consideration. He shows that the settlers and even the speculators, in a great many more cases than we have been led to think, accepted New York jurisdiction, and made application for confirmatory patents. They sought certainty, and were willing to pay for it, in many listed instances. Royal orders, however, seemed to prevent the issue of confirmatory patents when they would have done the most good.

The author tells of the London mission of Samuel Robinson, the petitions of the grantees from New Hampshire and those from New York, the influence of John Wentworth, who succeeded Benning,

and the actions of the New York governors, Dunmore and Tryon. He shows that the anti-court riots, sometimes called anti-British or anti-New York, were for the most part merely riots by debtors who desired to suspend the law. He discusses the revolt against New York, and points out the difference between the New England and the New York systems and trends of thought. He shows that the neglect of New York to back up a sound position, in other instances which men like Ethan Allen must have known, gave rise to an impression that New York could be jockeyed or bluffed out of a sound position in this case. He shows how the people east of the Green Mountains eventually came to side with those west of the Green Mountains who had actively resisted New York authority. And he relates the steps which led to the final revolt establishing Vermont as an independent republic by right of successful revolution.

The broad outlines of the book, except in one major instance, do not vary greatly from the opinions of some modern students of the situation. The great wealth of detail, confirming or refuting previous guesses, on the basis of positive knowledge resulting from intensive research, and shrewd analysis, is the factor which makes this book of real permanent importance.

That major instance is the flat statement that the Supreme Court in 1933 swept aside the pretended legality of the New Hampshire Grants, and as a result made them void from the start. It almost is indicated that the claimants under the grants must have known the law as now expounded, or at any rate that ignorance of the law was no excuse for their conduct. Their grants were void and they must have been aware of it, for the most part. In attempting to make them valid, by petitions to the King, by resistance, and finally by revolution, they sought to validate a fraud, and thwart the New York grants which alone had legal validity. Thus it would seem that the State of Vermont owes its very existence to the making good of a barefaced fraud.

Some historians have taken this view, but none, hitherto, have gone so far as to say that the 1933 decision of the Court, quoted in part by the author on page 97, "swept aside the long-persisting legal argument that jurisdiction over the disputed territory was once vested in New Hampshire, and the conclusion appears irresistible that the Benning Wentworth grants west of the Connecticut River were nullities which left the settlers who claimed title under them with only such

equities as attached to squatter occupation and development of the land."

The Court, in making its decision on the Vermont–New Hampshire boundary controversy, asserted the necessity of finding historical facts. Its decision is of course binding on the parties, but its finding of historical facts and resolution of historical doubts cannot be accepted as binding on historians, or as final proof, since it has no jurisdiction whatever over eternal verity, and cannot be thought to have assumed such jurisdiction. Hence, I think the Court did not sweep aside the long-persisting argument, and could not if it tried.

The portion of the Court's opinion quoted on pages 96 and 97, to be found in 289 U.S., p. 593, at 600, referring to the order of 1764, says "that the purpose and effect of the order were to leave the boundary of New York as established by the grant to the Duke of York." Again, "the history of the controversy clearly establishes that the intention of the order was to confirm and not to change the eastern boundary as fixed by the grant to the Duke of York. . . ." These words go a long way to establish the interpretation given by Mr. Jones, if taken apart from their context. But the context shows that the Court was considering the problem of a boundary along the Connecticut at high-watermark, low-watermark, or thalweg. All it derives, in this connection, is that the slightly variant terms describing the river boundary in the grant of 1664 and the order of 1764 meant the same thing: the thalweg or thread of the stream. Applying the context, I think it difficult to assume that the Court intended to "sweep aside the long persisting legal argument."

It may be added in passing that these remarks of the Court are entirely *obiter dicta*. The decision rests squarely on events of 1777 and the long period ensuing.

Consequently, if the Court did not do the sweeping aside which Mr. Jones thinks it did, and could not have done so had it tried, the result is that the ever-burning question as to the validity of the New Hampshire Grants remains a matter of doubt, and a subject of argument, just as it was left by the British authorities at the outbreak of the Revolution.

The author considers it necessary to arrive at a definite solution of the doubt, because in his view of the case a grant outside the jurisdiction of the province would have been altogether void. It should be remembered, however, that the royal provinces had no sovereignty, or semi-sovereignty, as have our states. They had no title at all to the

fee of ungranted lands, for that title was in the Crown. In granting Crown lands for the benefit of the Crown and its subjects, the provincial governments were land agents. This agency was no part of the governmental function of a municipal corporation, but separate and distinct from it. Thus acts of agency in excess of authority were voidable, but not void. In a similar manner, if a magazine appoints agents to sell subscriptions, and assigns territory to each agent, and one agent, because of doubt as to the limits of his territory or excessive zeal or self-interest sells subscriptions beyond his undoubted territory, the subscriptions sold thus would be voidable, but not void. The publishing house, in such a case, would almost certainly honor the subscriptions, particularly if it had been in any way at fault through careless terminology, or delay. It would then adjust the bounds so that there could be no mistake as to the future; and it would require settlement, between the disputing agents, as to commissions, if the overstepping agent had really been at fault. Probably it would do this without ever making public the facts of the dispute, for it would not wish to cast doubt on its own agents.

I think it not unreasonable to assume that the British authorities may have had some such ideas. They never did make a public denunciation of Benning Wentworth and his grants, perhaps because they did not like to repudiate their own appointment to the high office of royal governor, and perhaps because they did not wish to make their subjects suffer unduly. Wentworth was not the only royal governor to disobey instructions and promote his selfish interest, and the Crown, in the long run, paid the penalty for its faulty appointments. The period 1764-1775 was a period of fast-moving events in the colonies, and it would have been a very unfortunate time to declare the grants void, thus increasing the discontent in New England and antagonizing men of influence, even if it had ever been the policy of the Crown to penalize its subjects for the misdoings of its most distinguished representatives. It is clear enough that the Crown did not take the action which Mr. Jones seems to think it should have. I suggest that this was partly because it was wholly unnecessary. An adjustment was sought for, and could, in theory at least, have been reached, in such a manner as to confirm the titles of all who had actually settled, and also give to all grantees who had not settled, and whose rights had not lapsed, an equivalent amount of land, perhaps in other locations. Thus the crown-land grants of New Hampshire and of New

York could both have been made good, and the integrity of the Crown in relation to its subjects upheld.

The fact that no adjustment was made, although there were several proposals, was due in part to the stubbornness of conflicting claimants, in part to the dispute over fees or agent's commissions, in part to the great distance from England and the great difficulty of obtaining accurate information of an impartial nature, in part to the changes within the British government, and in part to the rapidly shifting events. This was not the only colonial problem of the British government.

It has been my great pleasure to discuss these points of difference with the author, verbally and by correspondence, and I suspect that he may welcome my objections with the same sort of "twinkle in his eye" which he mentions on page 76. Perhaps he will refute them completely.

At any rate, he and I agree that by the terms of final settlement with New York, Vermont, by the payment of $30,000, secured recognition that the New Hampshire Grants are valid, and that no New York patents except those confirming New Hampshire Grants now have any validity at all. As to the status before the order of 1764, we may disagree happily.

The book is a grand one, and the author deserves most hearty congratulations for his entertaining restatement of the old story, and his new light on many disputed phases. Readers are sure to enjoy it, and I hope it will add to their pleasure if they consider it without as well as with this grain of salt.

Note. Mr. Jones calls attention to an error in note 18, page 116. There, after correctly stating the value of a Spanish milled dollar as eight shillings York currency, in reference to choice land in Shaftsbury, he mentions an advertisement by Gyles Alexander of lands in the southeastern part of the Grants for six shillings, Massachusetts currency, an acre, equivalent to eight shillings an acre in New York currency, or *two* Spanish milled dollars. The word *two* should, of course, be changed to read *one*.

THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN HISTORIANS

July 1, 1939

The editor's tendency to believe in the Greek doctrine of Nemesis was accentuated by a minor but no less devastating, in physical and moral terms, accident which prevented him at the last moment from attending the first conference of historians interested in Lake Champlain history. Believing for many years in the abiding significance of the tremendous human, economic, and social drama played for centuries in the Champlain Valley, we were keen about the possibilities of such a conference; so, in view of our failure to appear, we turned to good friends and associates who were present for aid in covering the high lights of the conference; and to all whose names appear below we are grateful for various summaries and abstracts of addresses and talks which were features of the conference. Editor.

General Summary of Conference Proceedings by Doctor Edward P. Alexander, Director, New York State Historical Association

THE First Conference of Lake Champlain Historians met at the Headquarters House of the New York State Historical Association at Ticonderoga on Saturday, July 1, 1939, at 10:30 A.M. In the absence of Professor Arthur Wallace Peach, of Northfield, editor of the Vermont Historical Society, who was kept from attending the Conference by an accident, Mr. John P. Clement, of Rutland, presided. The more than one hundred and twenty persons present were welcomed to Ticonderoga by Mr. Stephen H. P. Pell, director of Fort Ticonderoga Museum and a vice-president of the New York State Historical Association. Professor Leon W. Dean, of the University of Vermont at Burlington, spoke briefly of the opportunities for historical research in that area and mentioned especially the Wilbur Collection of Ira Allen Papers.

Mr. Hugh McLellan, of Champlain, N. Y., described his import-

ant collection of Pliny Moore manuscripts. Pliny Moore fought in the Revolution in the Schoharie Valley and in 1788 founded the village of Champlain. He was much interested in the fur trade and land speculation, and his correspondents included such important figures as John Jacob Astor. A strong Federalist in politics, Moore was a judge for Clinton County.

Miss Florence C. Allen, curator of the Sheldon Museum at Middlebury, talked of the bountiful collections of that institution in attractive fashion. They are housed in a brick building constructed in 1829 by Dr. Eben W. Judd. In 1882 Henry Sheldon purchased the house and incorporated it as a museum. By the time of his death in 1907, he had filled it with a confused jumble of historical materials, most of them of value. Today the museum offers a series of period rooms, a useful genealogical library, and valuable manuscript and newspaper collections, which are being arranged and indexed by the Historical Records Survey, a W.P.A. project.

Mr. Allen Penfield Beach, of the Basin Harbor Hotel at Basin Harbor, then related his efforts in obtaining pictorial material relevant to Lake Champlain and exhibited pictures of some of his photomurals. He extended a cordial invitation to the Conference to meet at Basin Harbor next year.

The luncheon meeting of the Conference was held at 1 P.M. at the Rogers Rock Hotel on Lake George. The Hon. Berne A. Pyrke, of Crown Point, presided, and Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, president of the New York State Historical Association and of Union College, spoke in delightful and witty fashion. He stressed the importance of local history in writing national history and dwelt upon the value of an independent Vermont. While New York State was disgruntled at the time to lose the land which she claimed in the New Hampshire Grants (today Vermont), the independence of spirit developed in Vermont was probably best for the nation. Judge Pyrke then called upon the Hon. Sherman R. Moulton, of Burlington, chief justice of Vermont, who stated that he was born in New York and therefore united the Yorker and Yankee traditions. He emphasized the value of coöperation between the historians of the two commonwealths.

In the afternoon Dr. Edward P. Alexander, of Cooperstown, director of the New York State Historical Association, presided over the round table discussion. Mr. John P. Clement, speaking as a member of the publication board of the Vermont Historical Society, listed the most recent publications of the Society. Mr. John H. Bailey, of Ti-

conderoga, archaeologist of the Champlain Valley Archaeological Society, told of the excavations made by the Society during the past two years near Ticonderoga and near Vergennes. Their finds have established the existence of a new Laurentian culture in the Champlain Valley, with typical polished slate implements. Miss Agnes K. Lawson, of Montpelier, curator-librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, described the chief holdings of the Society. Mrs. Elsie B. Chatterton, librarian of the Bixby Memorial Free Library of Vergennes, told of the work done by Miss Adele Ingham on the papers of the Monkton Iron Company and showed some of the manuscripts. Miss C. Eleanor Hall, of Port Henry, to whose efforts the Conference was largely due, summarized many of the collections to be found on both sides of the lake and emphasized several newspaper indexes and other bibliographical guides.

Dr. Alexander then read the invitation of the Vermont Historical Society that the Conference meet in Vermont in 1940 at a place and time to be announced later, and this suggestion met with much applause.

A great many speakers then took part in the discussion which followed, among whom were Miss Helen E. Hale, of the Plattsburg Public Library, who described their newspaper holdings in some detail, and Mr. Guy Omeron Coolidge, of Rutland, who told of his work on the early French land grants in the Champlain Valley.

The meeting then adjourned to visit Fort Ticonderoga as the guests of Mr. Pell.

Collections of Historical Material in and around Burlington—Summary of Address by Professor Leon W. Dean of the University of Vermont

IN the Billings and Wilbur Libraries of the University of Vermont may be found one of the largest general collections of documentary material concerning Vermont, including the Champlain Valley, in existence. This material for the most part is in the form of books and pamphlets; some of it might be called standard, offering only the advantage of a large collection assembled in one spot; some of it is rare, dating back to the seventeen hundreds and early eighteen

hundreds, and representing, in certain instances, the early presses of the state; some of it, like Ira Allen's diary, is original or essentially so.

The collection includes both general and local Vermont historical material; much descriptive, geographical, industrial material; biographical and institutional material, this last concerning such subjects as libraries, schools, commissions, legislative proceedings and churches. There is an interesting collection of old state almanacs and another of early state literary periodicals. Both of these await somebody's attention. Nearly all of the authors of the state are represented. The Howard Collection of Civil War material constitutes one of the largest college collections of Civil War material in the Country.

At the present time, the Historical Records Survey of the state, a Federal project, is calendaring all the Ira Allen material in the state. The bulk of this material is in the Wilbur Library, which has nearly a thousand Allen photostats. These photostats were assembled by the late James B. Wilbur of Manchester, Vermont, from the archives of France, England and Canada while he was obtaining material for his two-volume life of Ira Allen. They are in the form of letters, deeds and contracts, most of them being letters. Some of these letters were written by Ira while a prisoner abroad; others concern his proposal for a Champlain–St. Lawrence canal; still others deal with the admission of Vermont into the Union and with the establishment of the University of Vermont.

Speaking of Allen material, a considerable amount of original Ethan Allen material is said to have been discovered recently at Rock Point, Episcopal Church holdings just outside of Burlington. Here, too, is a great deal of Episcopal Church material, and a study of this material, it is reported, is being made this summer. Mr. Samuel G. Ayers of Burlington, a former church librarian, has for many years been making a study of the churches of the Troy conference, embracing both sides of Lake Champlain, and now has available sixteen volumes of material on the history of the various Methodist Episcopal churches within the conference and biographies of their ministers. Both the Congregational and Baptist churches also have valuable church documents located in Burlington.

Probably the best collection of old newspapers in the state is at Montpelier, but the city library at Burlington has a collection, and both the Billings and Wilbur Libraries at the University of Vermont have collections. The Wilbur Library, of which Mrs. Annie S. Donahue is librarian, is making a particular effort at this time to build

up such a collection. An interesting project being conducted at the University at the present is the indexing of the files of the *Burlington Free Press*. This work, which is being done by the Historical Records Survey of the W.P.A. under the direction of Joseph T. Stearns, will be of much value to historians. The indexing is exhaustive and is being done under three main sections: (1) news items, editorials, miscellaneous; (2) vital statistics; (3) advertisements. Volume 1, covering the early years from 1848 to 1852, contains over 50,000 items in the first section, listed under some 1200 headings. Section two carries 251 marriage notices and 389 death notices. Section three has 150 representative advertisements.

Another interesting and valuable project being conducted at the University is the transcribing of the Henry Stevens Papers. Henry Stevens of Barnet was the first president of the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society. When numerous volumes of his correspondence went up for sale in England a few years ago, the collection was bought by the University and is now being transcribed through N.Y.A. assistance. It later will be typed and indexed.

The old newspapers in the city library at Burlington have been mentioned. The library has also standard books on Vermont and the Champlain Valley, but in particular should be mentioned, perhaps, its genealogical books, including a complete set of bound volumes of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Magazine*. Records of some of the state patriotic societies are likewise housed here.

A history of Grand Isle County has appeared recently as a project of the Historical Records Survey; and south of Burlington, Shelburne, Vergennes and Bristol are all actively engaged on local studies that will prove of interest and value.

The Pliny Moore Collection—Abstract of Address by Hugh McLellan, Editor with Charles Woodberry McLellan, of *The Moorsfield Antiquarian* of Champlain, New York

It would seem to me that the best way to describe the collection of historical material having to do with a single individual is to give a brief sketch of the life of the person himself, emphasizing such references to localities and events as have been gathered from his papers. I will, therefore, give a sketch of Pliny Moore's life.

Pliny Moore, the oldest son of Noadiah and Anna (Loomis) Moore, was born in Sheffield, Mass., April 14, 1759. The family moved to Spencertown, N. Y., before 1772, which is the date of the first letters found. In 1774, when fifteen years of age, Pliny visited Sheffield and Great Barrington to consult Dr. Whiting, and at this time kept a curious "Journal of Drink," in which he recorded "a true account of all spiritual liquors that I drink, and how, with and where I drink it." This journal mentions 43 names, and is an interesting historical document.

In 1776, in Capt. Henry O'Hara's company of Wynkoop's regiment he was in the campaign down Lake Champlain, letters being addressed to him at Fort George, Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Unfortunately no papers of 1777 and 1778 remain. In 1779 he was a deputy of Col. Peter VanNess, Asst. Commissioner of Purchases. In 1781, and until 1784, he was Lieutenant, and much of the time Adjutant, of Col. Marinus Willett's regiment of Levies—stationed at Saratoga in 1781, when Gen. John Stark commanded the Northern Department, and later at Ballston, but principally in the Mohawk Valley, and particularly at Fort Rensselaer, the official name of Fort Plain. There is a mass of letters and papers covering this period. Letters from home are now dated from Kinderhook or King's District.

Chosen to secure locations of unappropriated lands for 63 of the Levies, Pliny Moore, then on active duty, appointed James Dean (of Whitesboro, who had been government agent with the Oneida Indians) as his agent, and after several fruitless attempts to locate on the Susquehanna, and south of Seneca Lake, locations were finally secured on the Canadian border, in the present town of Champlain (after disputes with Col. Gabriel Christie and the Canadian and Nova Scotia refugees), and on the whole of Isle La Motte, in Lake Champlain. But Isle La Motte being later "ceded" or conceded to Vermont, the "Pliny Moore Patent" at Crown Point was substituted. The collection contains a quantity of papers, letters, maps, surveys, etc., on matters pertaining to land grants in northern New York.

Pliny Moore made three trips from Kinderhook to survey these grants, and in 1788, with several settlers and workmen, the settlement at Champlain was begun by the building of a saw-mill, and of huts, and the planting of gardens in the clearings. His journals of his trips north, through Vermont, and of the work done in the settle-

ment, are preserved. He brought his wife and son to the new settlement in 1789.

Clinton County was formed in 1788, at the same time as was the town of Champlain. The county included the present county of Essex and the county of Franklin; and contained but four towns: Champlain, Plattsburg, Willsboro and Crown Point. Pliny Moore was appointed Assistant Judge of Common Pleas; was later First Judge, 1807-1819, and also held the offices of Superintendent of Highways and Commissioner of Taxes, and was the first postmaster of Champlain. He was also one of the founders of the First Presbyterian-Congregational Church and Society of Champlain, in 1802; and the first president of the Clinton County Bible Society.

In 1805 the Great Northern Turnpike Company was created by act of Legislature, to lay out a road from Sandy Hill (now Hudson Falls) to connect with the road to Montreal at Champlain. Among the Commissioners and Directors may be mentioned Dr. Charles D. Cooper and Charles R. Webster of Albany; Theodorous Ross and Elkanah Watson of Essex County; Gen. Benjamin Mooers, Peter Sailly, Henry Delord and Pliny Moore of Clinton County. The road follows quite closely the present Route 9. Pliny Moore was elected President, and Elkanah Watson, Treasurer. The surveyors were William Beaumont, George Nelson and Beriah Palmer. The letters about this undertaking are extremely interesting.

From 1792 to 1797 Pliny Moore and his brother-in-law, Royal Corbin, conducted stores at Champlain and at Alburgh, Vermont, under the firm name of Moore & Corbin. Fortunately some of the account books and many letters and bills of these two stores are preserved. In 1797, Royal Corbin married Matilda Crafts, daughter of Col. Ebenezer Crafts, of Craftsbury, Vt., to which place he moved. Royal Corbin is worthy of passing mention; he was a constant letter writer, and his numerous letters to Judge Moore give not only a running summary of news, but are filled with political news of Vermont. Both he and Moore were ardent Federalists.

Merchandise in those days was procured from Albany; from John Tayler, Pearson & Caldwell and Barent & John R. Bleecker, for the most part; and from James Woolrich of Montreal. Payment was frequently made by shipments of potash and lumber.

Champlain, lying on the Canadian border, was continuously agitated during the War of 1812, concerning which many letters and papers have been preserved. With the Platts, Judge Moore owned

considerable land in Plattsburg, and this was sold to the United States in 1816, and is now incorporated in the present barracks there. This sale, necessitating trips to Washington and much correspondence, gives a picture of official procedure of the time.

After the war Judge Moore devoted much attention to the carding of wool, and besides the works at Champlain, established clothing works at St. Therese, Boucherville and Berthier, in Canada. At Berthier he was in partnership with Col. James Cuthbert. There are many papers concerning this business; the carding machines were made in Haverhill, N. H., by Richard Gookins, and the shearing machines by Stanley & Buckley of Poultney, Vt.

Although Judge Moore was averse to "going to law," one case he did take into the courts of Vermont. This was the accusation of malpractice performed by Dr. Jewett and Dr. Field, of Caledonia County, in setting the broken thighbone of Samuel Long, a carder in Moore's employ. The injury occurred at Lyndon, Vt., in 1819. The defendants employed Esquire Edmonds, of Vergennes, while Judge Moore engaged his old friend, Cornelius P. VanNess, and Mr. Griswold. I believe the case was not settled until after the death of Judge Moore, which occurred at his home in Champlain, August 18, 1822.

In copying the 2834 letters and drafts which compose a part of this collection, I have been struck by Pliny Moore's systematic and painstaking thoroughness; his devotion to his family and particularly by his candor.

Also, in copying these letters I feel that I have made many friends among his correspondents: Gen. John Williams, of Salem, N. Y., John Tayler, of Albany; Gen. Melancthon Lloyd Woolsey, Peter Sailly, and the Platts of Plattsburg; Elkanah Watson and Daniel Ross, of Essex County; Zebulon Rudd Shipherd, of Granville and later of Moriah, N. Y.; Thomas Schieffelin, of New York City, and his business friends, the Bleechers and Woolrich, to mention but a few.

Seven of Judge Moore's ten children reached maturity. I will mention but two: Noadiah and Amasa Corbin.

Noadiah Moore graduated from Middlebury College in 1808, having entered—after considering Union College—from Williams College. He married Caroline, daughter of Samuel Mattocks, of Middlebury. At the time of his graduation Middlebury conferred an honorary degree upon Judge Moore.

Amasa Corbin Moore also graduated from Middlebury, of which

College he was afterwards a Trustee for nearly twenty years. After graduation he had a religious urge and entered Andover Theological Seminary, but he seems to have gotten over it, and became a lawyer. He married Charlotte, daughter of Gen. Benjamin Mooers, of Plattsburg. Historically, his letters to his father are most interesting, and fortunately he wrote frequently, and in considerable detail; he tells of Prof. Allen's death by falling from the roof of Painter Hall at Middlebury; of an exhibition of "exhilerating gas"; of a remarkable cure of cancer at Cornwall; of a menagerie of wild animals which visited Middlebury; of the riot caused at Vergennes following the presentation of a sword to Gen. Strong in 1817 by the state of New York. Among his college experiences was his rustication for having stolen a chicken, cooked it in his room, and then having lied about it. This occasioned several letters to pass between President Bates and Judge Moore.

Although it might be considered that the Pliny Moore Papers should end with his death, fortunately they are carried on in the Nye Papers.

Two of Noadiah Moore's daughters, one after the other, married Bartlett Nye, son of Elias and Elizabeth (Bartlett) Nye. The family had moved from Massachusetts to Burlington, Vt., and Bartlett and his brother, Freeman, had moved to Champlain in 1807, where they were merchants and large land owners; another brother, Isaac, remained in Burlington, and seems to have been quite eccentric. At first a merchant in the building now occupied by the offices of the Lake Champlain Transportation Co., for some reason he closed its doors and allowed the stock of goods to decay on the shelves. He also owned the wharf and carried on a shipping and storage business.

Still another brother, Thomas Nye, graduated from the University of Vermont in 1822, and was a lawyer in Montreal until his death in 1877. He was a "perfect collector," keeping everything from auction bills and play bills to books and pamphlets. In 1837 he journeyed out to Chicago to marry Corinna Bowman, keeping an interesting journal of the trip both ways. His papers are voluminous, and this "Nye collection," besides his accumulations, contains some hundred volumes of the store books of his brothers.

I wish also to mention the preservation of two of the day-books of Dr. Benjamin Moore, a brother of Pliny Moore and the first physician at Champlain. These accounts cover the transactions from 1802

to 1806, and might serve as a check on local genealogy, as the births of children are carefully noted, as well as many prescriptions.

It might seem that most of the activities represented in these collections had to do with Vermont; but if the location of Champlain is considered—hemmed in by the Adirondacks and bordering on Canada—with poor and insufficient roads, Vermont was the more accessible, by water in the summer, and over the ice in winter.

The Sheldon Art Museum of Middlebury—Notes of the Address by Florence Cragin Allen, Curator

PERHAPS there are some among you who like the man who came to our door last summer have an entirely wrong impression of what the Sheldon Museum is like. So to begin with, I'd like to tell you what it is not like.

One day, I was in the back of the house down stairs unpacking a box of articles sent me as a loan by a member of the Sheldon family living in New Jersey. Wishing to show some of the new pieces to my assistants, I picked up the sword of Capt. Jonathan Sheldon of Deerfield, Mass., fame in one hand and in the other a revolver that Frank Sheldon, husband of the donor of the loan, had carried when he served on the rescue force in San Francisco the day after the big earthquake there, and started up stairs.

As I came into the front hall, a man stood at our entrance. He eyed my weapons apprehensively. With a laugh I exclaimed: "I'm not as dangerous as I look, really. May I do something for you?"

"Is this a *real* museum?" he queried.

"Yes," I replied.

"A *real* museum? Do you have wild animals here?"

"No, we have no wild animals. This is a different kind of a museum. We have *old* things."

"But I want to see a real museum. I have just been in Canada and there I saw a real museum with lots of wild animals. I thought maybe this was another real museum."

"I'm sorry we have no animals. But we do have other interesting things, like these" (showing the weapons); and then I handed him one of our folders. He said he would consult with his family in the car and perhaps they would all come back. But they never did!

The Sheldon Museum then, *q.e.d.*, is not a *real* museum or a zoo.

The old sign which Mr. Sheldon placed on the front of the building in 1882 when he bought the house reads: "Sheldon *Art* Museum." That title too is misleading, for we have very little that can be called "Art," except, perhaps, our few American primitives.

What then does this institution contain?

Fifty-seven years ago when Henry Sheldon installed the collection he had been assembling for eight years in its big new home—a three-story brick house built in 1829—he had it incorporated under the title: *Sheldon Art Museum, Archaeological and Historical Society*. And *historical* it really is.

The charter states that the Sheldon Art Museum, etc., is incorporated "for the purpose of gathering and preserving all matters of interest connected with early history of Addison County and Vermont, so that the same may be accessible to the public and be permanently preserved."

From the time Mr. Sheldon moved into Park House, as he called it, his collection grew by leaps and bounds. He rented the first floor of the house to a family who looked after his wants; he lived in two rooms on the second floor; he filled the rest of the house—second floor, third floor, attic—with his collection, the overflow, such as old wagons, old looms, plows, etc., going into the barn and "annex."

Attics as well as homes proper yielded up their treasures of years at his bidding. Not only furniture, dishes, and the like, which have served to furnish most of the museum rooms in livable, homelike fashion of colonial, regency, and Victorian periods, but books and newspapers and *manuscripts*—trunks and trunks full—at least 30,000, according to our estimate. Legal papers; commercial papers, including hundreds of old accounts; personal letters, and miscellaneous papers of many sorts—such as applications for patents, school essays, description of journeys, diaries and journals, and the like.

Because the Historical Records Survey this past year was interested in accounting for all book imprints before 1876, they obtained for us a W.P.A. project, under which we have had our books catalogued. That work is nearly finished, and we *hope* our newspapers and pamphlets may be done before the project is dropped. We have been fortunate to have a trained librarian to do the work. Over 5,000 books have been catalogued according to the Dewey System and are now being arranged on the shelves.

The library is pre-eminently made up of religious books; laws, statutes, and judiciary, and Vermont history. Other classifications

contain books by Vermont authors, statesmen, and those prominent in literary or other fields of endeavor and achievement pertaining to the development of the state.

Over forty volumes printed in Vermont before 1800, all of which are sought by collectors and historians—one not previously noted in any collection—have been placed on special shelves. A list of volumes published in Middlebury from the time of the first printing press there which are contained in the Museum library will be published in the local paper at an early date through the courtesy of the editor.

The catalogue, a copy of which will be placed in the college library, contains author, title, and subject cards, arranged in one alphabetical file, making books readily available to readers.

A copy of American imprints up to 1876 will be sent, through the Historical Records Survey, to Washington, where it will be incorporated in the U. S. Union Catalogue with special symbol (VtMidSM), making it possible for students and research workers to know at a glance where needed books are located.

Follows a cross section of books on our shelves of interest about this region: J. Butler & G. F. Harrington's *Addresses on the Battle of Bennington and Life and Service of Seth Warner; Centennial Anniversary of the Independence of the State of Vermont and Battle of Bennington;* Francis Chase's *Gathered Sketches from the Early History of N.H. and Vt.; Dedication of the Bennington Battle Monument and Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Admission of Vermont as a State . . . With Historic Introduction and Appendices;* Charles S. Forbes' *Second Battle of Bennington—a History of Vt.'s Centennial;* Isaac Jennings' *Memorials of a Century, Embracing a Record of Individuals and Events Chiefly in the Early History of Bennington;* Theodora Peck's *Hester of the Grants, A Romance of Old Bennington;* City Documents, Burlington, Vt, 1886: Charter and Ordinances with Address of Hon. A. L. Catlin, Mayor: First report under city charter; Lake Champlain fiction: *Jane Arlington,* or *The Defrauded Heiress;* L. E. Chittenden's *Capture of Ticonderoga:* Annual address before Vt. Historical Society; K. E. Stanley's *The Stone's Story, or Fort Ticonderoga and its immediate Vicinity, from 1609 to the present time;* R. E. Robinson's *Vermont, A Study of Independence;* M. M. Gamble's *Battle of Valcour* (fought in Lake Champlain October 11, 1776); C. Moore's *Battles of Lake Champlain and Plattsburgh,* Sept. 11, 1814; A. R. Walker's

The Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley, 1864; *The Hamlet. A Poem for the ladies fair*, Port Henry, N. Y.

I spent most of last week unburying—disinterring if you prefer, old pamphlets, periodicals, etc., in the "annex" and making a list so we can check up with those in the house for duplicates, which we will dispose of in some way yet to be decided. A few of the pamphlets found were: *The Battle of Plattsburgh: A Poem in Three Cantos.* By an American Youth. Montpelier: Printed by E. P. Walton. 1819; Speech of Mr. Calhoun delivered Jan. 1814, on Bill Making Further Provision for Filling Ranks of Regular Army, Encouraging Enlistment, etc.; Ethan Allen's *Narrative of Capture of Ticonderoga and of his captivity and treatment by the British.* 5th ed., 1849; *First Battle of Lake Champlain*, paper read before Albany Institute, Nov. 5, 1889, by George F. Bixby. Pub. 1893.

My newspapers I want indexed as well as catalogued, so when people come in and say: "My great-grandfather used to live in Middlebury and was married three times. Can you tell me the name of his first wife? and date of his second marriage?" I won't have to read through ten or a dozen years of Middlebury papers before I get the information.

You see, people are beginning to find out that we have practically a complete file of all newspapers printed in Middlebury since Dec. 1801, and come in for such information with vague background of knowledge of time. An index, if only of vital statistics, would be of vast help.

There are other newspapers, too, of Boston, New York, Rutland, Burlington, and hundreds of single papers from various parts of the world, that have not yet been even listed.

But it is among our letters that we are to find our most valuable material, we think. Mr. Sheldon himself must have looked these over pretty carefully and combed out those he considered most interesting and put them in various scrapbooks. There are over 200 scrapbooks or notebooks made by Mr. Sheldon, many made for autograph collections; others on history of Middlebury or biographies of Vermont people. Such as:

Autographs of Presidents of the U.S.; of the governors of Vermont; of President Cleveland and family; of centenarians; of Vermonters in Congress; of Com. McDonough and heroes of Plattsburg; of Episcopal Bishops.

Letters of the Allens and Fays; of men prominent in anti-slavery movement; of Middlebury citizens; of the Prince of Wales and suite.

There are scrapbooks containing hundreds of letters written by members of the Sheldon family and the Weeks family, who came from Connecticut to Vermont in 1810 and 1790 respectively. The dates of these letters are as far back as 1783.

An uncle of Henry Sheldon, Walter Sheldon, was paymaster for this district in War of 1812. One notebook is made up of letters written to him.

One book gives *Annals of Middlebury: From Champlain's voyage in 1690—through 1906.*

Another contains all known portraits of persons living in Middlebury about 1800. Besides a picture, you will find biographical notes, assembled by Mr. Sheldon, and an autograph letter of each person.

Another gives the complete history of the Addison County Grammar School, which involves the beginning of the College.

The Middlebury Inn, too, from the time it was known as Mattocks Tavern about 1796, until it became Middlebury Inn, is described in another book.

One on the Phelps and Slade controversy has much political material.

When I mentioned the 30,000 letters, I referred to the loose letters we found in desk drawers, old chests, and other unexpected hiding places. These we have been able to start cataloguing, through the untiring assistance of John Clement, who was head of Historical Records Survey, when the Museum was reopened in 1936. He obtained the project for us from W.P.A., gave us untiring suggestions as to how to do the work, and visited us often to keep our courage up. And though he is no longer at Montpelier, the good work he started is still going on.

The commercial letters we sorted out three years ago, and packed away in a chest of drawers, to work on at some later day. The legal papers too have been packed away. Some of the miscellaneous papers have been read out of curiosity, but nothing more has been done. We started on the personal correspondence first because we thought that would prove most interesting.

These personal letters we have arranged in folders in chronological order so if you want to find letters of a certain period on a chance they may have facts you are looking for, you can easily find them. In addition we are cataloguing and indexing subject material in each

paper, so if you wish to know about any special person or town or such things as diseases or weather, or domestic duties or Anti-Masonry, slavery, or any other thing you can think of, we can tell you if we have material in the letters about it. We have finished reading letters through the year 1835, so there are only 65 years more to go. (Mr. Sheldon died in 1907, so there will be no more letters after that.)

Among these letters are not only family letters, but many others telling of experiences of friends and relatives who are emigrating westward—first to eastern New York state; then to St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.; later to western New York, to Ohio, to Illinois, and even farther.

Among letters about Illinois emigrations, are those written by Sarah Snell Bryant, mother of William Cullen Bryant, to her sister-in-law, about members of her family who settled in Princeton, Ill., where their descendants still live. Letters tell about life in the new lands, about their crops, wild life, neighbor settlers of various nationalities, early business conditions. Many an exciting political debate takes place by letter, also.

When once I begin talking about these letters, I find it difficult to stop, so I think I would better stop now before I really get started. The best way for you to learn what we are doing is to visit the Museum and see for yourselves. We will be very happy to take you about and answer any questions, or help you look up any matter you may be interested in.

Summary of Address by Doctor Dixon Ryan Fox, President of Union College and President of the New York State Historical Association

DR. FOX paid tribute to the public usefulness of local and state historical societies including all those who forwarded research in local materials and presented it for public benefit, as well as those who carried on the indispensable but sometimes tedious toil of raising money for centers of historical education in museums, libraries and the like. He pointed out that the local historian does not figure brightly in the pageant of the arts and sciences. He is usually compared to his great disadvantage with those who write of parliaments and armies and chronicle the great dramatic movements and controversies of the world. Now and again there is a flash of sympathy for some Old

Mortality, chiseling afresh the memories of years gone by, but he is usually dismissed as a short-sighted antiquarian painfully working out a futile record of the insignificant. He said that, on the contrary, the American people were in special and grievous need of local history. Their opportunities of economic improvement had led them from place to place much more than is true of those in the old countries of Europe, and while there was some economic gain in being here today and there tomorrow, there was bound to be a loss of good home sentiment. He recommended local history as something that enriched the associations of the hearthstone and made life more interesting and more lovely. He spoke also of its scientific value in presenting the history of western civilization in the individual instance. He went on to speak of the growing breadth of history and pictured the benefit to the young American who was taught to inquire as to the origins of his local churches, libraries, schools, public utilities, even streets, sewers, etc. The youngster came to realize that everything has a background and a development, and that it is impossible to understand any institution or practice without knowing how it came about. He made a special point of the need of opening historical societies, with all encouragement, to newcomers. If the impression arose that the historical society is the natural gathering only of those who come to celebrate their own ancestors, the moving power of history will not be extended to the whole community. It is fortunately possible to adopt a background and that whole-hearted adoption is the best means of acquiring the sense of really belonging to the community. Therefore, he desired to emphasize the equality before the history society of the children of "foreigners" as well as the children of the old families. In the course of his remarks Dr. Fox used local illustrations to bring out the practical significance of what he had to say.

The Champlain Valley Archaeological Society—Résumé of Address by John H. Bailey, Archaeologist for the Society

THE Champlain Valley Archaeological Society, organized in 1936 by a group of amateurs in the neighborhood of Ticonderoga, New York, has been carrying on serious archaeological investigations for the past three summers. During the Society's first year, a rock shelter on the point of ground upon which Fort Ticon-

deroga is located was excavated and restored in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum. The next year when serious work commenced, a small camp site, also on Fort Ticonderoga grounds, was investigated and one of the few perfect examples in existence of Algonkin pottery was found along with arrowpoints, scrapers, and drills of chert; fragments of pottery and a stone celt or adze.

The remainder of the summer was spent on a fairly large village site on the John Donovan farm near Vergennes, Vermont, where from the refuse mantle covering a pastured point extending into the Dead Creek, the Society recovered, for the first time on record for the northeastern United States, ground slate semi-lunar knives and arrowpoints, tools common to the Eskimo. Along with these came gouges, celts, adzes, and the usual arrowpoints, scrapers, perforators, and many fragments of broken dishes and some fragments of steatite vessels. These specimens helped materially in formulating a new culture for this area to which the name Laurentian has been given and the Donovan site will be one of the key stations for this culture.

During 1938, another rock shelter was uncovered, this time in Vermont on the shores of Lake Champlain at Chipman's Point. Here beneath an overhanging limestone cliff a place was found where primitive people had found shelter for many years and accumulated over six feet of rubbish. Indians had apparently lived here at two different times as the refuse layers were separated by a two-foot layer of limestone chips and blocks which had fallen off the bluff. The people leaving the lower deposit did not know how to make pottery, but did use the bones of the moose for many of their tools and used notched or stemmed arrowpoints exclusively. Against the back wall they had buried one of their children and nearby one of their dogs. The people represented by the upper level of rubbish made pottery and used triangular arrowpoints. Sometime while there, they had eaten a captive presumably, since the long bones of the skeleton were split and broken probably for the marrow they contained. The broken bones were buried in a heap and the skull placed on top of the pile.

Also during 1937 we found another large village site just across the Dead Creek from the Donovan Site on the Rivers farm. Here, again in a pasture, were found thirty-nine refuse pits filled with broken pottery, animal bones, fire-cracked stones, bone fish-hooks, awls, and several fragments of clay pipes. Three of these pits contained burials, one having two individuals in it. This burial has been restored and is now on display in the Robert Hull Fleming Museum,

at the University of Vermont, in Burlington. Another pit produced, in broken fragments, almost all of an Iroquoian pottery jar while another pit contained two Algonkin jars which had been buried intact, but frost and the weight of the earth had cracked them into many pieces. Two of these jars have been restored and are in the Society's collection. Further work this summer is being conducted upon the Rivers farm and results so far have proven that it was wise to continue the work.

Only by such painstaking excavating, as has been done by the Society in the past three years, can the history of the first inhabitants of the Champlain Valley be written. Further work in other sections of the valley will add new chapters to an otherwise unknown and unwritten story of the American Indian.

Notes of Address by Miss Agnes K. Lawson, Curator-Librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, on the Society's Collections Relating to the Champlain Valley

To be seen in the museums are specimens of an era of life—in the form of trilobites, brachiopods, ferns, leaves, snails, oysters, dinosaur tracks, etc.—found chiefly in the towns bordering Lake Champlain and dating back to around 450 or 500,000,000 years ago. In the 20 or 30,000 year period the skeleton of a whale, found in Charlotte, and three tusks of elephants, found in Brattleboro, Mt. Holly, and Richmond, are the remains of larger animals which were known to have lived here. Of this latter group, only the Richmond tusk is not in Montpelier.

A group of maps of the Champlain Valley covering the period from 1760-1780 are of especial note, among which is Capt. William Chambers' book of directions necessary for all commanders of vessels employed on Lake Champlain. This map, made in 1779-1780, contains 126 pages, including 31 maps.

The manuscript collection includes material on the embargo on Lake Champlain, 1807-1809, the "Black Snake" affair, 1808, and some Alexander Miller letters dealing with this episode. Alexander Miller, 1776-1844, was an officer in the Vermont militia.

Of the letters relating to the War of 1812-1814, one written by Jonathan Stevens to his brother not long after the Battle of Platts-

burg, Sept. 11, 1814, conveys a choice expression when he states the American soldiers "immediately flanked out & soon met the Advance of the Enemy who after giving two fires surrendered having lost their Capt. & 4 or five Others. Lord Wellington Wonderfull hero of Europe Appear no bigger than men to Yankeys. they all took to flight . . ."

There is the prize collection of souvenirs of the St. Albans Raid, composed of pictures, broadsides, scrapbooks, etc., painstakingly gathered together by John Branch, Sr., an eye-witness at the tender age of twelve to the stirring scenes on the street that memorable day of Oct. 19, 1864, when a group of twenty-two Confederate raiders from the South, under the command of the youthful Bennett H. Young, swooped down upon St. Albans, while the Vermont troops in the Union Army were fighting desperately at Cedar Creek, robbed their banks, leaving two men seriously wounded and the townspeople terrorized and frightened.

Some Miscellaneous Historical Material—Summary of Address by Miss C. Eleanor Hall, Compiler, Romance Map of the Northern Gateway, Port Henry, New York

SOME Miscellaneous Historical Material" touched on the Col. Matthew Lyon Collection in Fair Haven, Vt., owned by Mr. Zenas Ellis. Col. Lyon was the founder of Fair Haven and was one of the storm centers of National politics during the John Adams administration; he had the distinction of being the only man to be elected to Congress from three states. Two other collections of Mr. Ellis's are those on Horace Greeley and the Underground Railroad in the Granville–Fair Haven area—in the latter, Mr. Ellis's father and other Quaker relatives took an active part.

A small collection on the Champlain Valley is the Witherbee Collection in the Sherman Free Library, Port Henry. Mr. Frank S. Witherbee who was actively interested in the iron business at Port Henry for many years gathered the material, which is especially good on the metallurgical background of the region.

Reference was made to the collection of Vermontiana of the late Senator Frank L. Green, now in the St. Albans Public Library, which is about to be inventoried; and also to the very valuable material on

the French and Indian War and the Revolution in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

The attention of the group was called to the work Dr. Harold G. Rugg of Dartmouth College is doing on the continuation of Gilman's bibliography of Vermont books; the newspaper list to 1820 by Clarence S. Bingham, compiled for the American Antiquarian Society, and the Union List which will be its companion covering the period 1820 to 1938.

VERMONT LETTERS. *A SERIES*

III

In 1842, Charles Whipple was a student in the Columbia College of Medicine in Washington, D. C. He was a native Vermonter, his birthplace being Shaftsbury and the date of his birth, October 9, 1815. In the interesting letter which we print below, we see the young Vermonter looking with characteristic Vermont eyes at "the highest man in the world," and alert readers will note a characteristic "Vermontish" comment as to Mr. Whipple's reactions to what he witnessed. He was writing to his brother, Stephen Angell Whipple. The original letter is in the possession of Miss Isabel L. Cole, Historian-General of the National Society of New England Women, of South Shaftsbury, Vermont. Miss Cole is a granddaughter of Stephen A. Whipple. We have followed in this printing a copy of the original. Editor.

Washington, D. C. Columbia College
January 1st, 1842.

My dear Brother:

I heartily wish you a happy New Year Stephen. To-day is the 1st. of the year of 1842 and it has been quite an interesting one to me. You must know that the President gives a levee, and different societies celebrate and etc. To-day the temperance societies to the number of 6 or 8, marched through the town—round the Capital, up to the White House & etc. They had fine music, and some of the most splendid silk, satin and gilt painted banners I ever saw. Typ. and Tyler time not excepted.

About noon 14 of our number walked up to the White House. From the hall or large square room, we were greeted by the sound of martial music, perfectly suited to the splenders of the occasion, for it was grand and soul stirring. Passing through the immense crowd which thronged the door, we moved on slowly to the receiving room, in the center stood our honored President Tyler (by

the side of an 8 sided table of one leg of solid snow white marble), cordially greeting every one, in turn gave me a shake of the hand, I thought he looked weary, he must be so I think shaking the hands with thousand just as fast as he can change hands. What looks more democratic and like a servant of the people, than the privilege of the lowest citizen once in the year, to be greeted thus cordially by the highest man in the world?

To the left I passed into the East room about which so much has been said as to be needless to describe it. I will say however that it is none too splendid for the chief magistrate of so great a people.

In it were several candidates for the next presidency, ministers of foreign courts, officers of the army and navy in all their regimentals, badges of honor, together with beauty decorated with all that wealth, taste and passion could invent. In one end stood Henry Clay bowing gracefully to his friends, at the other end stood Commodore Stewart and several of his officers in their regimentals. In the center stood the tremendous Daniel—and not far from him stood the galent General Scott, he is 6 inches taller than the tallest and well proportioned. He soon put on his military cap and walked out with Com. Stewart—being interrupted by a boy who wished to speak to him, he manifested the greatest kindness, grace and dignity. I think I never saw a more splendid appearance or graceful commanding figure.

Many of the members of both houses of Congress were there and much wealth and passion. The day was fine and as beautiful sunshiny day in June in New England. It is said by one of the old inhabitants that there has never been more present and greater display at the White House than at this time.

After passing round the room I returned to take another view of the royal family, which my haste before has deprived me of inspecting. His wife and three daughters sat back, one however was standing, a lovely girl of 18—a model of beauty—dressed in blue entire, gloves and all. She talked to many and so loud as to be heard nearly across the room. Her mother, an old matron looks as if she might once have been beautiful. But her father John Tyler has a

magnificent nose, his son looks as green as some say he is, but I think they get the notion from his long neck and pale face sharp features and slim figure. He evidently bows gracefully and to every one as so much as looks at him, and if you continue to look he approaches and shakes your hand. Besides the living ornaments that graced this appartment, was a magnificent Chandalier hanging from the center, said once to have been Napoleans. Eagles holding in their talons spears, over the 3 windows, a beautiful clock over the mantle, every thing was gilt, except doors, chairs, settees and ceiling and windows. The chairs and settees were covered with blue satin, elegant. Passing right into the next room what most attracted my attention was a whole length picture of Washington, saved from the flames by the presence of mind of Mrs. Madison in 1814-15 who got up and cut it out of the frame with her own hands—she is still the most splendid woman in Washington. Among the most gaudily draped and lovely women present was the Russian Minister, Bandiliski and his young American bride. He was completely covered, except his back above the skirts and his pants—with silver pearls and ornaments, on his breast was the star of the legion of Honor. It is said that beauty shines alone in splendid garb—but I am sure that some wore faces that would charm a stoic's eye. Others there I should judge had sought to astonish the world with their richness and finery. After I had got through looking I came away just as well pleased with myself and situation as before I went. I care not a penny for any or all of it. Do write, direct it to Hall with and envelope, his name on the envelop.

Stephen Whipple, from Charles Whipple.

POSTSCRIPT

INFORMAL reports on the first conference of Lake Champlain historians indicate that it was successful from both a New York and Vermont point of view. While there may have been some restlessness in certain graves on lonely Vermont mountain sides and in the shadows of ancient pines at the thought of Vermonters and Yorkers hobnobbing together in peace and harmony and discussing themes that had to do with old scenes of struggle and controversy, it is high time that students of the Champlain Valley history found a common cause that our fathers would not recognize. As Mr. Clements suggests in a note to me, and as our New York friends have pointed out, the west shore of the Lake was very largely settled by Vermonters, but the repercussions of events on the Lake and on its shores, dating from the time of Champlain, are interwoven in such a way that throughout the history of the valley state lines are not particularly significant, and the history of the valley should be, and must be, studied as an entity. The conference, next year, will be held under the auspices of the Vermont Historical Society on the Vermont side of the Lake, and Vermonters interested should make note of that fact in their subconscious memory lists if nowhere else. The New York State Historical Association, and particularly Miss C. Eleanor Hall, are to be congratulated on their initiative in creating the conference and establishing it on a sound basis; and I trust our Society will do as well in continuing it along enjoyable and instructive lines.

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The address by Doctor Fox seemed to me an excellent summation of the motives which should function, not only in a conference designed to clarify local historical issues and materials dealing with a particular region, but also in all local history research. It is certainly true that local history, properly utilized, is something that enriches "the associations of the hearthside" and makes "life more interesting and more lovely"—and I would add, as he does later in his address, more significant in the sense of "belonging to the community." Kipling has told us that God ordained that one spot should prove to men "beloved over all," and the deepening of experience and association

in that one spot has much to do with making it "beloved"; and the local historian alone is the agent through which that experience and association can find meaning, although others must lend, often, the necessary leavening through interpretation if the "moving power of history is to be extended to the whole community." The point made by Doctor Fox regarding the relation of local history to our youngsters appealed to me, also, as being thoroughly sound. Our experience with our annual, state-wide Edmunds Memorial Prize Essay Contest shows implicitly that our "youngsters" do come to realize through studying phases of their local history for essay purposes that "everything has a background and a development, and that it is impossible to understand any institution or practice without knowing how it came about." Doctor Fox was speaking to the point again when he referred to the "equality before the history society of the children of 'foreigners' as well as children of the old families." We often find sons and daughters of our Italian, Swedish, and French Vermonters winning prizes in the Edmunds contest with essays that reveal a sense of instinctive "belonging" created by their study of the environment of which they write. An Italian lad who knows more about the history of his community, as he often does, than the son of an Old American family, has every right to a sense of pride in his achievement and also a sound reason for his belief in himself as an American.

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The day is practically at hand, so I am reliably informed, when recording devices can be generally used by the historian in recording for his compeers of the future aspects of his study which up to the present have been highly limited by the media available. The whole point has been whimsically put by a scientist who has said that in the future we can give a personality a practical immortality; in other words, as he suggests in effect, one might "go to the attic and bring down great-grandmother" by simply taking a film case from a rack. By means of a combination of television and sound-recording we can see her, in color, as she lived, moved and thought in her generation. No one can gaze at one of our mountain cemeteries, completely and utterly forgotten, and not realize keenly how utterly and completely forgotten human personalities can be. There probably is an abiding wisdom in such complete annihilation of once beloved and revered personalities: I do not argue the point; what I do suggest is that we

should be alert in making use when the time arrives of means of preserving values, lives, and deeds, that now fade in the slow decay of the printed and written word and in the feeble transcriptions of man's memory.

I venture to print, as a far more authoritative, suggestive, and pertinent comment on the general theme, this letter by Doctor George Herzog of the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University:

May I express to you the appreciation of myself and many of my colleagues for the space you have given in your *Proceedings* to Mrs. Helen H. Flanders' articles on Vermont folk-songs. Vermont is one of the most active states in collecting our folk-songs while there is yet time, and we have long been looking forward to a report on the activities of Mrs. Flanders, and to the index which is especially valuable to many of us. I am hoping other states will use her index as a model.

What pleases me, as an anthropologist, and hence in part a historian, is the very circumstance that this report and index saw the light in the publications of an Historical Society; I am especially gratified to know that you and your Society realize the value of ephemeral folk-songs as illuminating past and present history, whether through a factual background or through their propensity for displaying people's attitudes.

May I now urge on you and the Vermont Historical Society a matter which is, I believe, worthy of your sympathetic interest, even though the Society itself may not find itself in the position to act on it directly. As you probably know, dictaphone records are breakable, become worn down through the repeated playings which are necessitated by transcription into musical notation, and do not give a sufficiently photographic representation of tune or pronunciation, although the renderings are good enough for our present scientific purposes. For a number of years recording machines have been on the market which record on disks, and are portable enough to use in the field. Both portability and price have become more and more feasible. Records made with such machinery are in many respects infinitely better than those on cylinders.

Such disks are actually comparable to museum specimens illustrating various phases of the life of a people; they are prime historical documents. In music the objective record is of especial importance for historical purposes since our conventional musical notation is but a shorthand in which many details are difficult if not impossible to render: subtle details of expression, mannerisms of singing and the like, which are not only of great psychological interest but are also apt to vary from region to region and from period to period. Phonograph disks also have the great advantage over cylinders that they can easily be duplicated and played for audiences or in the home, and give a rendition which is satisfactory from the esthetic as well as from other angles.

For these reasons I have repeatedly urged in various places that records and, if possible, disk records of our folk-songs be taken, and in various states efforts are being advanced in this direction. In the South, such recordings are being made through local efforts in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, Florida, and North Carolina. It has long been one of my regrets that in New England

where through Mr. Phillips Barry and some of his associates much of the most important work in American folk-song has been produced, no disk recordings were being taken. It would be especially urgent to make such recordings in New England, not only because of its prominence with regard to the survival of continental British folk culture, but also because work in New England has been systematic, which contrasts most favorably with the random collecting only too often found elsewhere.

I know Mrs. Flanders is fully aware of the situation I am outlining to you. If I take the liberty of bringing this matter to your attention, acting entirely on my own, it is because I feel I may take it for granted that you and your Society will be ready with your sympathy and may be able to further her work better than any "outsider" might. With my deepest appreciation of the Society's interest in folk-song as a living document of history, I am

Yours very truly,

GEORGE HERZOG

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Helen Hartness Flanders, whose appealing paper on questing for Vermont ballads appeared in our last number, is now in Scotland for a vacation trip—or, at least, she planned to go "if Europe doesn't explode." I hope, however, that all who know or have any recollection of old ballads and songs will forward to her such material as they have, or, at least, will send her clues. She writes that Mr. Walter E. Jones of Waitsfield, Vermont, loaned her a manuscript book in which there are words to songs current during the Revolution set down during or shortly after the War of 1812. "It is fascinating to copy them," Mrs. Flanders writes, "and they have very much enriched the Archive with such songs as 'Burgoyne's Lamentation,' 'Old Granny Wales,' 'The Battle of Plattsburg,' 'The British Sergeant,' etc." Such songs catch revealing notes that we never or seldom, anyway, find in formal histories. Just as the "swing" music of our day to which we listen—and under which some of us suffer—will be rich material in what it will tell, one of these days, about a certain generation, so the old songs sing the meanings that are enlightening with regard to older generations who if they were not better than ours, were certainly as happy as we are—if not happier.

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Mrs. Clifford Hayes Smith of Proctor, Vermont, has done much for Vermont through her study of phases of its historical and cultural history. In a letter in which I think my readers will be interested she

refers to what she calls the "Oberlin trek." It seems to me that Vermonters and others interested in historical research will do well to consider the possibility of studying such "treks." A careful analysis of what Vermont contributed to the building of the Middle West group of states would make a permanently valuable volume. Professor Stilwell's monograph to which Mrs. Smith refers is a sound base from which to plan a detailed study of a state or a region.

Mrs. Smith's letter:

The arrival of a new number of the *Proceedings* reminds me of something that I had been planning to write you about.

When I read the number containing Prof. Stilwell's most interesting study of "Migration from Vermont," I should have called it a most exhaustive study of the subject, if I had not discovered to my surprise that he omitted all reference to what seems to me one of the most important of all the Vermont migrations. It is certainly one of the most romantic.

I refer to the trek to Oberlin, Ohio, when two Vermont men went out there and bought several thousands of acres of wild land in the Western Reserve and with a few followers, largely Vermonters, started Oberlin Colony and Oberlin College. When Oberlin (Colony and College) celebrated its Centennial in 1933, they erected a Memorial to the two men—John J. Shipherd and Philo Penfield Stewart. Mr. Stewart is buried in the Pittsford cemetery, among his Stewart and Penfield relatives.

It happens that both of the men were born outside of the state but came to Vermont at an early age, were educated here, and went from Vermont to Ohio. The next year, Mr. Shipherd came east, but spent the summer going up and down the state and into Massachusetts, persuading people to leave their homes and go out to Oberlin. Whole families sold their farms and followed him. The first postmaster of Oberlin was a Vermonter, the first public school teacher a Vermont woman, the first student to register in the College was a Vermont boy, and the first Senator was a Vermonter. The whole story of the Colony and the College is a fascinating one. I had hoped sometime to write it for *The Vermonter*, but I have become so much of an invalid that I doubt if I could do it.

Is there not some one who would be interested in working it up, if only as a college thesis? But I think it ought to see the light either in *The Vermonter* or the *Proceedings* or somewhere.

I wrote a note to Prof. Stilwell, calling his attention to the omission, and he expressed his regret that he had failed to discover the Oberlin story. . . . I would be willing to turn over what notes I have on the subject to anyone who would make good use of them.

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The Honorable George Pomeroy Anderson, who contributes the leading article in this issue, is another Vermonter who has made a

distinguished record in Massachusetts; and while I think he would offer determined opposition to an extended review of his career, I am setting down a few of the principal facts, knowing that I can get in the last word, in any event. As a matter of fact, some one, some day, is going to write a most illuminating Vermont book; it will show just what Vermont has contributed through Vermont blood, not only to Massachusetts, but to all other states and to the Union. Even a partial study of what the sons and daughters of a few small villages have accomplished gives a man pause as he ponders the data—and sets him to brooding on what the state might be if some of these children had remained at home and used their gifts and abilities here. But the biological law that scatters the young in obedience to one of the deepest urges of creation must be obeyed, I surmise. Anyway, when such a study is undertaken, why not start with Highgate or St. Albans? Here, as a sample, are a few notes on a Vermonter whose years of service are significant for our purpose.

Mr. Anderson was born in St. Albans in 1873. He is a graduate of the University of Vermont and the Northeastern University Law School. In 1915, he was a special student in economics at Harvard. He is a member of a number of historical societies, has contributed to the publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, has spent thirty years collecting data on Dr. Thomas Young, who named the state of Vermont, and for ten years has been doing research on John G. Saxe, the poet. He was editor of the memorial volume on the 300th anniversary of the Massachusetts General Court and House chairman of the committee that planned the celebration of that fact in 1930. He was for more than twenty years on the staff of the *Boston Daily Globe*, and was assistant secretary of the Boston Stock Exchange from 1919 to 1925.

In Boston, where he has been a resident for forty-two years, Mr. Anderson has won recognition. Elected as a Republican in a city of over 100,000 Democrats, he served as a member of the General Court from the Back Bay district from 1925 to 1932. In the legislature, he was chairman of the Committee on Municipal Finance which put the city of Fall River under a commission form of government, equivalent to placing the city in bankruptcy, and the scheme, now eight years old, has proved to be a complete success. He has just completed three months' service as statistician of the Redistricting Committee of the General Court.

A. W. P.